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SEAL. **BE IT REMEMBERED**, that on this twenty ninth day of December, in the thirty fifth year of the Independence of the United States of America, CHARLES NORRIS of Exeter, Printer, and Company have deposited in this Office the title of a book whereof they claim as proprietors in the words following, to wit: "M. T. Ciceronis Orationes Quaedam Selectae, Notis Illustratae Editio Exoniensis Secunda Emendatio." In Conformity to an act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing Copies of Maps, Charts, and other books to the Authors and Proprietors therein mentioned." And also an act supplementary to "an act for the encouragement of Learning by securing Copies of Maps, Charts, and other books to the Authors and Proprietors therein mentioned, and extending the benefit thereof to the Arts of Designing, Engraving, and Etching Historical and other Prints."

R. CUTTS SHANNON, Clerk of
said District.

William W. Sargis. 1820
ORATIO I. IN L. CATILINAM.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the six hundred and eighty seventh year of Rome, Lucius Sergius Catiline, a man of patrician rank and great abilities, but of a wicked and ambitious disposition, formed a conspiracy to elevate himself and his accomplices to power and wealth upon the ruins of his country. From his earliest youth, he was fond of civil wars, of rapine, and of massacres. There was no crime however atrocious, which he was not willing to commit; there was no vice however infamous, of which he was not inclined to be guilty. He debauched a young lady of illustrious family, afterwards seduced a Vestal, and is said to have violated the chastity of his own daughter. To gratify Sylla, whose partisan he was, he assassinated a brother. He even murdered a son, because Aurelia Orestilla, whom he wished to marry, disliked to have a full grown son in law. Indeed he so often committed murder and other heinous crimes, that he did not seem to think the commission of them criminal. But at length, not contented with the commission of many private vices, he conceived the design of a conspiracy, which, had it been executed, would have been unparalleled in the annals of history. After his return from Africa, the province assigned to him upon the expiration of his Praetorship, he sued for the Consulship; but, in consequence of an accusation of extortion and mal-administration, which the African cities preferred against him in Rome, he was not permitted to assert and maintain his pretensions to that office. It was during the pendency of this trial, that, it is supposed, he first thought of destroying the laws and usurping the power of the republic. Enraged by this check to his ambition, he resolved to acquire by force that authority, which he could not obtain by election. He entered into a combination with Autronius, Cneius Piso, and others, to put the consuls to death and seize the consulship. Their design, at the first attempt to execute it, was frustrated by the absence of Crassus, and by Julius Caesar's not giving the signal agreed upon, and they therefore thought it prudent to defer its execution to a future period. At the time appointed, they had enlarged their plan, and determined not only to kill the consuls, but also to murder the Senate. But by too great precipitancy the conspirators again defeated their own designs. Catiline, however, did not remit his exertions; he seems to have been calculated to make the most hazardous attempts with the greatest discouragements. He was now more de-

sirous than he ever had been of obtaining the consulship, in order that he might more effectually execute his intention of subverting the republic. He practised the most profound dissimulation; by his address and bribes obtained an acquittal of the many crimes of which he was accused; and made two attempts to be elected consul. But he did not succeed. At the latest election Cicero and Antonius, two of his competitors, were chosen. This continual ill success made Catiline at last desperate; he immediately prepared to execute his bloody intentions. By all the arts of allurements he possessed, he courted and corrupted the young nobility; with the most consummate address he attached to himself the most factious, profligate, and abandoned characters in the city; and by various artifices he ingratiated himself into the affections of the most indigent class of citizens, who were ever ready to follow a leader, that promised them great rewards. With his accomplices he held frequent meetings. In one of these, held at the house of Marcus Læcæ, it was determined, that an insurrection should be immediately raised through all Italy; that Catiline should take command of the army, which Manlius had collected in Etruria, and bring it to take possession of Rome; that Cassius should inflame the city in several places; that, during the confusion created by the conflagration, Cethegus should murder the senate; that Lentulus, being first in rank, should conduct their councils, and that two Roman Knights, who were then in the assembly, should the next morning in his bed assassinate Cicero, from whom they expected the greatest opposition. But the meeting was no sooner over, than Cicero was informed of all its proceedings. Fulvia, the mistress of Curius, one of the conspirators, had persuaded him to send the consul an account of all their transactions. Cicero guarded his house against the Knights, who came in the morning to execute the commission assigned them; and the next day he summoned the senate to assemble in the temple of Jupiter Stator in the Capitol, where they seldom convened except in times of public danger. The designs of Catiline had long been suspected; great rewards had been offered to him, who would discover them. This artful hypocrite, however, so successfully dissembled his intentions, that he persuaded many to believe him innocent, and he constantly asserted, that the suspicions, so prejudicial to his character, arose from the defamatory tales of Cicero, his professed enemy. He even offered to put himself into the custody of whomever the Senate would appoint; but no person would consent to be his guard. Catiline nevertheless continued to practise the arts of hypocrisy, and indeed had the impudent confidence to come to this meeting of the Senate, which was expressly called to receive information of the discovery of his dangerous conspiracy. The Senators were astonished to see him take his seat among them as usual, and so abhorred the crimes of which he was accused, that they instantly vacated the benches near which he sat; and Cicero was so enraged by his impudence and audacity, that he did not, as was common, begin business in a methodical manner, but immediately addressed him in the abrupt and severe invective, that follows.

QUOUSQUE tandem abutère, Catilina, patientiâ nostrâ? quamdiu etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet? quem ad finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia? nihil-ne te nocturnum praesidium ¹Palatii, nihil ²urbis vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil consensus bonorum omnium, nihil hic ³munitissimus habendi senatûs locus, nihil horum ora vultusque moverunt? patere tua consilia non sentis? constrictam jam omnium horum conscientiâ teneri conjurationem tuam non vides? quid proximâ, quid superiore nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consilii ceperis, quem nostrum ignorare arbitraris? O tempora! ô mores! Senatus haec intelligit, consul videt: hic tamen vivit; vivit? imo verò etiam in Senatum venit: fit publici consilii particeps: notat et designat oculis ad caedem unumquemque nostrum. Nos autem, viri fortes, satisfacere reipublicae videmur, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus. Ad mortem te, Catilina, duci ⁴jussu consulis jampridem oportebat: in te con-

1. *Palatii*—Palatium, or Palatinus, was one of the seven hills, upon which Rome was built, and such was its commanding situation, that in times of public alarm a garrison was stationed upon it to protect the city.

2. *Urbis vigiliae*—As soon as there was a suspicion that a dangerous conspiracy existed, the Senate ordered the inferior Magistrates of Rome to guard with an armed force the various streets of the city, to prevent the execution of any evil design, that might be formed.

3. *Munitissimus*—The Senate at this time were convened in the temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, which was the highest part of the city, and was strongly fortified.

4. *Jussu Consulis*—In times of peace and safety, the power of the Consuls was much limited; in all important affairs they were obliged to act under the direction of the Senate. But when there were civil commotions in the city, and when it was supposed that sor-

ferri pestem istam, quam tu in nos omnes jamdiu machinaris. An verò vir amplissimus, ⁶P. Scipio, ⁶Pontifex Maximus, Tib. Gracchum mediocritèr labefactantem statum reipublicae privatus interfecit : Catilinam verò orbem terrae caede atque incendiis vastare cupientem nos consules perferemus ? nam illa nimis antiqua praetereo, quòd ⁷Q. Servilius Ahala Sp. Melium novis rebus studentem manu suâ

great evil endangered the state, the Senate invested them with absolute power, that they might preserve the republic from harm. Upon the first report of the existence of the Catilinarian conspiracy, such authority was conferred on Cicero and Antonius ; and it was by virtue of this power, that, Cicero says, Catiline should already have been put to death.

5. *P. Scipio*—Tiberius Gracchus was supposed to be ambitious of making himself King in Rome. P. Scipio Nasica at the head of the Senators, whom Tiberius had offended by passing several popular laws, went in an illegal manner and without any public authority into an assembly of the people, who were then electing Gracchus Tribune a second time, attacked him and his friends, and put him to death.

6. *Pontifex Maximus*—It is the opinion of many that Cicero here applies to Scipio the title, Pontifex Maximus, by anticipation, as he immediately afterwards calls him simply a private person, as Livy expressly opposes *Pontifex* to *privatus*, and as Paternulus asserts that Scipio was not Pontifex Maximus at the time this oration was delivered.

7. *Q. Servilius Ahala*—In the three hundred and thirteenth year of Rome, there was a famine in the city, by means of which, Livy says, a private man was near obtaining possession of sovereign power. Minucius was appointed by the Senate and people to procure corn in the adjacent countries, but met with little success. Spurius Melius, the richest private man in the commonwealth, had bought so much of that article in neighbouring provinces, that the agent of the public could not purchase provisions of that kind. The corn, which Melius had purchased, was liberally distributed among the people, and so great was the popularity he acquired by this artifice and munificence, that a conspiracy was formed to change the form of government ; Melius aspired to royalty : the people were to take arms in his favour, and the Tribunes consented to sell the public liberty. Upon the discovery of the conspiracy, T. Q. Cinncinnatus was appointed Dictator, who, supposing that nothing but a stroke of authority could destroy so dangerous a plot, immediately sent Servilius Ahala, his General of the horse, to cite Melius to ap-

occidit. Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac republicâ virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis civem perniciosum, quàm acerbissimum hostem coercerent. Habemus enim ¹senatusconsultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave : non deest reipublicae consilium neque auctoritas hujus ordinis : nos, nos, dico apertè, consules desumus.X

II. Decrevit quondam Senatus, ut L. Opimius Cos. videret, nequid respublica detrimenti caperet : nox nulla intercessit ; interfectus est propter quasdam seditionum suspiciones ²C. Gracchus, clarissi-

pear before his tribunal. Melius, surprised, endeavoured to make his escape ; Servilius commanded a Lictor to arrest him. Melius, imploring the assistance of the people, was rescued by the multitude, and again endeavoured to escape ; but Servilius, pursuing him, overtook him, ran him through the body with his sword, and thus preserved the liberties of his country.

8. *Senatusconsultum*—The decree of the Senate, to which this passage alludes, was that, which, as soon as there was a rumour of Catiline's conspiracy, charged the Consuls to see that the republick received no detriment, and which for that purpose invested them with absolute power.

9. *C. Gracchus*—Caius Gracchus was a brother of Tiberius Gracchus, and like him was a favourite of the people and opposed to the Senate. In the six hundred and thirtieth year of Rome, he was chosen Tribune, and, besides many other acts of popularity, enforced the execution of his brother's Agrarian law, and added to it another clause. Marcus Fulvius Flaccus was one of the commissioners appointed to divide the lands. But, two years afterwards, the Consul Opimius called an assembly of the people to abrogate that law, and during the confusion, which was common in those meetings, Q. Antyllus, one of his Lictors, was killed. Opimius excited the Senators to execute immediate vengeance on Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus, who were supposed to be the authors of the Lictor's death, but a violent shower of rain obliged the parties to separate. On the next day, Gracchus and Fulvius with their friends were assembled on mount Aventine ; the Senate conferred unlimited power on Opimius ; the Consul immediately attacked the partisans of Gracchus, and slew Fulvius, his sons, and three thousand of his followers. Gracchus sought shelter in a wood consecrated to the Furies but, perceiving his enemies approach to kill him, ordered a slave to put an end to his existence.

mo patre natus, avis, Majoribus : occisus est cum liberis M. Fulvius, consularis. Simili senatusconsulto, C. Mario et L. Valerio Coss. permissa est respublica ; num unum diem postea ¹L. Saturninum tribunum-plebis et C. Servilium, praetorem, mors ac reipub. poena remorata est ? At nos ²vigesimum jam diem patimur hebescere aciem horum auctoritatis ; habemus enim hujusmodi senatusconsultum, veruntamen inclusum in tabulis, tanquam gladium in vaginâ reconditum : quo ex senatusconsulto confestim interfectum te esse, Catilina, convenit. Vivis, et vivis non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam audaciam. Cupio, Patres Conscripti, me esse clementem : cupio in tantis reipublicae periculis me non dissolutum videri : sed jam me ipsum inertiae nequitiaeque condemno. Castra sunt in Italiâ contra rempub. in Etruriae faucibus collocata : crescit in dies singulos hostium numerus : eorum autem imperatorem castrorum ducemque hostium intra moenia atque adeò in Senatu videmus, intestinam aliquam quotidie per-

1. *L. Saturninum*.....*C. Servilium*—On the day of the election of Consuls in the six hundred and fifty third year of Rome, M. Antonius was elected without opposition : C. Servilius Glaucia, the Praetor, whom Cicero (*in Brut. c. lxii.*) calls *the most wicked man that ever lived*, and C. Memmius, a man of distinction, were the other candidates. Saturninus, a tribune of the people and a factious demagogue, was eager for the election of Servilius ; but, fearing that Memmius would succeed, murdered him in the presence of the people. The senate immediately charged the Consuls to see the republick received no detriment. Saturninus and Servilius fled to the Capitol : being besieged there by Marius, they surrendered themselves upon condition of safety ; but the same day, before they were brought to trial, they were slain by the enraged citizens.

2. *Vigesimum diem*—The decree of the senate, charging Cicero and Antonius to see that the republick received no harm, was passed twenty days before the delivery of this oration.

niciem reipublicae molientem. Si te jam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici jussero, credo, erit verendum mihi, ne non hoc potius omnes boni serius a me, quàm quisquam crudeliùs factum esse dicat. Verùm ego hoc, quod jampridem factum esse oportuit, ³certà de causâ nondum adducor ut faciam; tum denique interficere, cùm jam nemo tam improbus, tam perditus, tam tui similis inveniri poterit, qui id non jure factum esse fateatur. Quamdiu quisquam erit, qui te defendere audeat, vires: et vires ita, ut nunc vivis, multis meis et firmis praesidiis obsessus, ne commovere te contra rempublicam possis; multorum te etiam oculi et aures non sentientem, sicut adhuc fecerunt, speculabuntur atque custodient.

XIII. Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod jam amplius expectes, si neque nox tenebris obscurare coctus nefarios, nec privata domus parietibus ⁴continere voces conjurationis tuae potest? si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta jam istam mentem: mihi crede: obliviscere caedis atque incendiorum; teneris undique: luce sunt clariora nobis tua consilia omnia, quae etiam mecum licet recognoscas. Meministi-

3. *Certà de causâ*—The reasons, which induced Cicero not to put Catiline to death, were, because there were many in the city, and even some in the senate, who did not think Catiline guilty, and who would have called Cicero a tyrant, if he had ordered him to be killed: because, although Catiline were dead, yet the conspiracy would not be suppressed, but, should he be obliged to leave the city, it was probable he would carry with him all the profligate and desperate; and because it would be more safe to contend with an open enemy, than a secret, artful, and bloody-minded conspiracy.

4. *Continere voces*—By the intrigues of Fulvia and Curius, her paramour, Cicero was informed of all the plans and proceedings of the conspirators.

ne, me ante diem ⁵XII. Kalend. Novemb. dicere in senatu, certo die fore in armis, qui dies futurus esset ante diem VI. Kal. Novembris, C. Manlium audaciae satellitem atque administrum tuae? num me fefellit, Catilina, non modò res tanta, tam atrox, tam incredibilis, verùm id, quod multò magis est admirandum, dies? Dixi ego idem in Senatu, caedem te optimatum contulisse in ante diem V. Kal. Novembris, tum, cùm multi principes civitatis Româ, non tam sui conservandi, quàm tuorum ⁶consiliorum reprimendorum causâ, profugerunt. Num inficiari potes, te illo ipso die meis praesidiis, meâ diligentîâ circumclusum commovere te contra rempublicam non potuisse, cùm tu, discessu caeterorum, nostrâ tamen, qui remansissemus, caede contentum te esse dicebas. Quid? cùm te ⁷Praeneste Kalend. ipsis Novemb. occupaturum nocturno impetu esse confideres; sensistine illam coloniam meo jussu, meis praesidiis, custodiis, vigiliisque esse munitam? nihil agis, nihil moliris,

5. *XII. Kalend. Novemb.*—The twelfth of the Kalends of November was the twentieth day of October. See Adams' "*Rudiments of Latin and English Grammar*," upon the division of the Roman month, pages 289th and 290th of the Boston Edition.

6. *Consiliorum reprimendorum*—Many of the principal men of Rome had left the city, because they feared, that they should be put to death together with the consul by Catiline, for he had written a letter to Crassus advising him to depart, which letter was shewn to Cicero.

7. *Praeneste*—Catiline had designed to take the town of Praeneste, which was within twenty five miles distance from Rome, and was one of the strongest fortresses in Italy. It would have been of great use to him in the war, and would have afforded him a safe retreat if he should be defeated. Cicero, however, apprehending that he would make this attempt, put the town in a state of defence, and when Catiline came on the night of the first of November to make an attack, he found it so well guarded, that he was obliged to abandon his design.

nihil cogitas, quod ego non modò non audiam, sed etiam non videam, planèque sentiam.

X IV. *Recognosce tandem mecum illam* ⁸*superiorem noctem*; jam intelliges multò me vigilare acriùs ad salutem, quàm te ad perniciem reipublicae. Dico te priori nocte venisse inter ⁹*Falcarios* (non agam obscurè) in M. Leccae domum: convenisse eòdem ¹*complures* ejusdem amentiae scelerisque socios; num negare audes? quid taces? convincam, si negas; video enim esse hìc in Senatu quosdam, qui tecum unà fuere. O dii immortales! ubinam gentium sumus? quam rempub. habemus? in quâ urbe vivimus? hìc, hìc sunt, in nostro numero, P. C. in hoc orbis terrae sanctissimo gravissimoque concilio, qui de meo nostrumque omnium interitu, qui de hujus urbis, atque adeò orbis terrarum exitio cogitent; hosce ego deo consul, et de rep. sententiam rogo: et quos ferro trueidari oportebat, eos nondum voce vulnero. Fuisti igitur apud Leccam eâ nocte, Catilina: ²*distribuisti* partes Italiae: statuisti quò quemque proficisci placeret: delegisti quos Romae relinqueres, quos tecum educeres: descripsisti urbis partes ad incendia: confirmasti te ipsum jam esse exiturum; dixisti paululùm tibi esse etiam tum morae, quòd ego

8, *Superiorem noctem*.....*priori nocte*—These words refer to the same night, viz. that on which Catiline and the conspirators met at the house of Lecca.

9. *Falcarios*—There is a doubt existing concerning the meaning of this word; but it is generally believed, that it is either a name of a street in Rome, or an appellation given to soldiers armed with scythes.

1. *Complures*—Sallust names eleven Senators, and there probably were many more influential men at this meeting.

2. *Distribuisti*—Cneius Manlius was sent to the city of Faesulae, Septimius into the Picene territory, and Caius Julius into Apulia.

viverem. Reperti sunt duo equites Romani, qui te istâ curâ liberarent, et sese illâ ipsâ nocte paulò ante lucem me in meo lectulo interfecturos pollicerentur. Haec ego omnia, vix dum etiam coetu vestro dimisso, compëri : domum meam majoribus praesidiis munivi atque firmavi : exclusi eos, quos tu manè ad me salutatum miseras, cùm illi ipsi venissent, quos ego jam multis viris ad me venturos id temporis esse praedixeram. *

V. Quae cùm ita sint, Catilina, perge quò coepisti ; egredere aliquando ex urbe : patent portae, proficiscere : nimium diu te imperatorem illa tua Manliana castra desiderant ; educ tecum etiam omnes tuos ; si minus, quamplurimos : purga urbem : magno me metu liberabis, dummodo inter me atque ~~te~~ ^{urbem} intersit : nobiscum versari jam diutius non potes ; non feram, non patiar, non sinam. Magna diis immortalibus habenda est gratia, atque huic ipsi Jovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi hujus urbis,

3. *Huic ipsi Jovi Statori*—The temple in the Capitol was consecrated to Jupiter Stator, Juno, and Minerva ; the cell of Jupiter was in the middle, of Minerva on the right, and of Juno on the left. It was founded, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, by Tarquinius Priscus on this occasion : In a severe battle, which that king fought against the Sabines, his enemies at first were victorious : but, Tarquin having vowed a temple to the deities abovementioned, if they would turn the tide of success, the hopes of their assistance excited fresh courage in his soldiers, and he by this means gained the victory. Regardful of his vow, when he arrived at Rome, he laid the foundation of the temple, upon which his grandson, Tarquin the Proud, afterwards erected the edifice. It was burnt in the 670th year of Rome, rebuilt by Sylla, and dedicated by Quintus Catulus. In the part devoted to Jupiter, Cicero was now speaking to the Senate, and his happy allusion to the cause of the building of the temple made a strong impression upon the minds of the Senators. It was dedicated to Jupiter *Stator*, which appellation was given him, because he *stayed* the victorious pursuit of the Sabines, and saved the Romans from defeat and perhaps from destruction. Rome, by

quòd hanc tam tetram, tam horribilem, tamque infestam reipublicae pestem toties jam effugimus. Non est saepius ⁴in uno homine salus summa periclitanda reipublicae. Quamdiu mihi, ⁵Consuli designato, Catilina, insidiatus es, non publico me praesidio, sed privatâ diligentîâ defendi ; cùm proximis Comitîis Consularibus me Consulem in campo, et competitores tuos interficere voluisti, compressi tuos nefarios conatus amicorum praesidio et copiis, nullo tumultu publicè concitato : denique quotiescunque me petisti, per me tibi obstiti : quanquam videbam, perniciem meam cum magnâ calamitate reipublicae esse conjunctam. Nunc jam apertè rempublicam universam petis ; templa deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam denique totam, ad exitium et vastitatem vocas.

the providential discovery of Catiline's conspiracy, was lately delivered from ruin equally imminent ; and Cicero, no less grateful for his remarkable deliverance than Tarquin, gave great thanks to the immortal Gods, and with great propriety to this Jupiter Stator in particular, the most ancient protector of the city, who had delivered it from early destruction, and had so lately preserved it from conflagration, and prevented the assassination of its Senate and citizens.

4. *In uno homine*—This sentence alludes to Catiline's former attempts to raise himself to sovereign power.

5. *Consuli designato*—During the interval between the election of Consuls and their entrance into office, which was generally six months, the persons chosen were called Consuls elect. Cicero and Catiline the last year had been rival candidates, and as Cicero succeeded not only in being elected to the consulship himself, but also in excluding Catiline, this assassin had determined to attempt to murder him in the Campus Martius. The vigilance of Cicero, however, defeated his design. The next year, while Cicero was consul, at the time the Comitîa were held, he again employed his influence in preventing the election of Catiline, who stood candidate for the consulship this year also, and Catiline again endeavoured to kill him in the field of election. But the prudence of Cicero and the exertions of his friends again prevented the execution of his murderous intentions.

Quare, quoniam ⁶id, quod primum, atque hujus imperii, disciplinaeque Majorum proprium est, facere non audeo ; faciam ⁷id quod est ad severitatem lenius, et ad communem salutem utilius ; nam si te interfici jussero, residebit in republicâ reliqua conjuratorum manus : sin tu, quod te jamdudum hortor, exieris, exhaurietur ex urbe tuorum comitum magna et perniciosa sentina reipublicae. Quid est, Catilina ? num dubitas id, me imperante, facere, quod jam tuâ sponte faciebas ? exire ex urbe Consul hostem jubet ; interrogas me, num in exilium ? ⁸non jubeo : sed, si me consulis, suadeo.

VI. Quid enim, Catilina, est, quod te jam in hac urbe delectare possit, in quâ nemo est extra istam conjurationem perditorum hominum, qui te non metuat, nemo qui te non oderit ? quae nota ⁹domesticae turpitudinis non inusta vitae tuae est ? quod privatarum rerum dedecus non haeret infamiae ? quae ¹libido ab oculis, quod facinus a manibus unquam tuis, quod flagitium a toto corpore abfuit ? cui tu adolescentulo, quem corruptelarum illecebris irretivisses, non aut ad audaciam ferrum, aut ad

6. *Id*—That is, to put Catiline to death.

7. *Id*—That is, to force Catiline to leave the city.

8. *Non jubeo*—He only advises, he does not order, because to have commanded him to leave the city would have been to have assumed too much of the style and power of royalty.

9. *Domesticae turpitudinis*—He had murdered his brother and son, and seduced his daughter.

1. *Libido*—Besides having many intrigues of gallantry with Ladies of distinction, and seducing his daughter, Catiline had violated the chastity of a Vestal, which was a crime that subjected the parties guilty of it to death ; the vestal by law was sentenced to be buried alive with funeral solemnities in a place called the *Campus Sceleratus*, and her paramour was to be scourged to death in the Forum.

libidinem facem praetulistis? quid verò? nuper, cum morte superioris uxoris, novis nuptiis domum vacuum fecisses, non-ne etiam alio incredibili scelere hoc scelus cumulasti? quod ego praetermitto, et facile patior sferi, ne in hac civitate tanti facinoris immanitas aut extitisse, aut non vindicata esse videatur. Praetermitto ruinas fortunarum tuarum, quas omnes impendere tibi proximis Idibus senties; ad illa venio, quae non ad privatam ignominiam vitiorum tuorum, non ad domesticam tuam difficultatem ac turpitudinem; sed ad summam Rempub. atque ad omnium nostrum vitam salutemque pertinent.

Potest-ne tibi haec lux, Catilina, aut hujus coeli spiritus esse jucundus, cum scias horum esse neminem, qui nesciat te pridie Kalendas Januar. Lepidum et Tullo Coss. stetisse in Comitio cum telo? manum, Consulum et principum civitatis interficiendorum,

2. *Morte superioris uxoris*—To induce Aurelia Orestilla to marry him, he not only had killed his son, but was also suspected of having put his wife to death.

3. *Alio incredibili scelere*—It had been asserted that he married one of his own illegitimate daughters.

4. *Proximis Idibus*—This oration was delivered on the eighth of November; the next Ides, therefore, would be on the thirteenth of the same month, (*See the division of the Roman month, in Adams' Grammar.*) before which time Catiline was obliged to discharge the many and great debts he owed, or to have all his estate taken from him; and as Cicero did not think that he could satisfy the demands of his creditors, he told him that his fortunes would soon be ruined.

5. *Cum telo?*—It was unlawful to carry a hostile weapon into the Comitium, the Forum, or the Senate house.

6. *Manum.....interficiendorum*—This refers to Catiline's former attempt, when in conjunction with Sylla, Antonius, Crassus, and Julius Caesar, he designed to murder the consuls and senators, and when, by reason of the signals not being given on account of the absence of some of the conspirators, the design was frustrated. The Senate were well acquainted with Catiline's intentions, but as there was no positive proof of his guilt, they could not punish him.

causâ, paravisse? sceleri ac furori tuo, non mentem aliquam, aut timorem tuum, sed fortunam Reipublicae obstitisse? Ac jam illa omitto: neque enim sunt aut obscura, aut non multa postea commissa; quoties tu me designatum, quoties Consulem interficere conatus es? quot ego tuas petitiones ita conjectas, ut vitari posse non viderentur, parvâ quâdam declinatione, et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi? nihil agis, nihil assequeris, nihil moliris, quod mihi latere valeat in tempore: neque tamen conari ac velle desistis. Quoties jam tibi extorta est sica ista de manibus? quoties verò excidit casu aliquo, et elapsa est? tamen eâ carere diutiùs non potes: quæ quidem quibus abs te initiata sacris ac devota sit, nescio, quòd eam necesse putas esse Consulis in corpore defigere.

VII. Nunc verò, quæ tua est ista vita? sic enim jam tecum loquar, non ut odio permotus esse videar, quo debeo; sed ut misericordiâ, quæ tibi nulla debetur. Venisti paulò antè in Senatum; quis te ex hac tantâ frequentiâ, ex tot tuis amicis ac necessariis salutavit? Si hoc post hominum memoriam contigit nemini, vocis expectas contumeliam, cùm sis gravissimo iudicio taciturnitatis oppressus? Quid,

7. *Initiata sacris*—The meaning of this passage is—"Which indeed has been consecrated and devoted by you with I know not what rites, that you should religiously think it necessary to thrust it into the body of a Consul." It was unlawful to use for common purposes the knives and other instruments devoted to sacred employments: Cicero therefore implies, that as Catiline was so accustomed to carry a dagger with an intent to kill him, he seems to have vowed to the Gods, that with it he would murder a Consul.

8. *Quis te*—When Catiline came to this meeting of the Senate, the Senators abandoned the seats, near which he placed himself, and not one of his friends dared to salute him.

9. *Judicio taciturnitatis*—The Senate's abhorrence of him and his crimes could not be more strongly expressed, than by their avoiding him, and refusing to speak to him.

quòd adventu tuo ista subœllia vacua facta sunt? Quid, quòd omnes ¹consulares, qui ²tibi persaepe ad eadem constituti fuerunt, simul atque assedisti, partem istam subœlliorum nudam, atque inanem reliquerunt? Quo tandem animo hoc tibi ferendum putas? Servi, mehercule, mei, si me isto pacto metuerent, ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquendam putarem: tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? et, si me meis civibus injuriâ suspectum tam graviter atque infensum viderem, carere me aspectu civium, quàm infestis oculis omnium conspici mallet: tu cùm conscientiâ scelerum tuorum agnoscas odium omnium justum, et jam tibi diu debitum, dubitas, quorum mentes, sensusque vulneras, eorum aspectum praesentiamque vitare?

Si te parentes timerent, atque odissent tui, neque eos ullâ ratione placare posses; ut opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquò concederes: nunc te patria, quae communis est omnium nostrum parens, odit ac metuit; et jamdiu de te nihil judicat, nisi de parricidio suo, cogitare: hujus tu neque auctoritatem verebere, neque judicium sequere, neque vim pertimesces? quae tecum, Catilina, sic agit, et quodammodo tacita loquitur: Nullum jam tot annos facinus extitit, nisi per te: nullum flagitium sine te: tibi uni multorum ³civium neces, tibi ⁴vexatio direptioque socio-

1. *Consulares*—This title was conferred on those, who had been Consuls.

2. *Tibi*—This word in this place has the signification of *à te*.

3. *Civium neces*—Catiline was an active agent in putting to death the persons, whom Sylla proscribed, and was protected from punishment by the authority of the Dictator.

4. *Vexatio*.....*impunita*—When Catiline was Praetor, he ob-

rum impunita fuit, ac libera : tu non solùm ad negligendas leges et quaestiones, verùm etiam ad evitandas perfringendasque valuisti. Superiora illa, quanquam ferenda non fuerunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli : nunc verò, me totam esse in metu propter te unum : quidquid increpuerit, Catilinam timeri : nullum videri contra me consilium iniri posse, quod a tuo scelere abhorreat, non est ferendum. Quamobrem discede, atque hunc mihi timorem eripe : si est verus, ne opprimar ; sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando timere desinam.

VIII. Haec si tecum, ut dixi, patria loquatur, non-ne impetrare debeat, etiamsi vim adhibere non possit ? Quid, quòd tu te ipse in custodiam dedisti ? quid, quòd vitandae suspicionis causâ, apud M. Lepidum te habitare velle dixisti ? a quo non receptus, etiam ad me venire ausus es ; atque, ut domi meae te asservarem, rogasti ? Cùm a me quoque id responsum tulisses, me nullo modo posse iisdem parietibus tutò esse tecum, qui magno in periculo essem, quod iisdem moenibus containeremur ; ad Q. Metellum Praetorem venisti : à quo repudiatus, ad sodalem tuum, virum optimum, M. Marcellum, demigrasti : quem tu videlicet et ad custodiendum te diligentissimum, et ad suspicandum sagacissimum, et ad vindicandum fortissimum fore putasti. Sed quàm longè videtur a carcere atque a vinculis abesse debere, qui seipsum jam dignum custodiâ judicaverit ?

tained the province of Africa, and while he governed it, was guilty of the most oppressive extortion. When he was afterwards accused in Rome of mal-administration, he escaped with impunity, by bribing his accuser, Publius Clodius.

Quae cùm ita sint, Catilina, dubitas, si hîc emori aequo animo non potes, abire in aliquas terras, et vitam istam multis suppliciis justis debitisque creptam, fugae solitudinique mandare? Refer, inquis, ad Senatum (id enim postulas) et, si hic ordo sibi placere decreverit, te ire in exilium, obtemperaturum te esse dicis. Non referam id quod ⁶abhorret a meis moribus: et tamen faciam, ut intelligas quid hîc de te sentiant. Egredere ex urbe, Catilina, libera rempub. metu: in exilium, si hanc vocem expectas, proficiscere. Quid est, Catilina? ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis horum silentium? patiuntur; tacent. Quid expectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perspicias? At si hoc idem huic adolescenti optimo, P. Sextio, si fortissimo viro M. Marcello dixissem, jam mihi consuli hoc ipso in templo, jure optimo, Senatus vim et manus intulisset; de te autem, Catilina, cùm quiescunt, probant: cùm patiuntur, decernunt: cùm tacent, clamant; neque hi solùm, quorum tibi auctoritas est videlicet ⁶cara, vita ⁷vilissima; sed etiam illi equites Rom. honestissimi, atque optimi viri, caeterique fortissimi cives, ⁸qui circumstant Senatum;

5. *Abhorret a meis moribus*—Cicero by nature was mild and averse to severity, and as he knew the Senate would condemn Catiline, if he referred the case to them, he chose rather to drive him from the city, which measure he was certain would be equally fatal to the conspiracy, and would not produce so bad consequences.

6. *Videlicet cara*—Catiline pretended to pay great deference to the authority of the senators, that he might more effectually prevent a suspicion of his design to murder them.

7. *Vilissima*—The lives of the Senators were certainly cheap in Catiline's estimation, since he resolved to destroy so many of them.

8. *Qui circumstant Senatum*—The Roman Knights had been ordered to guard the temple, in which the Senate were convened,

quorum tu et frequentiam videre, et studia perspicere, et ¹voces paulo antè exaudire potuisti; quorum ego vix abs te jamdiu manus ac ¹tela contineo; eosdem facile adducam, ut te haec, quae jampridem vastare studes, relinquentem usque ad portas prosequantur.

IX. Quanquam quid loquor? te ut ulla res frangat? tu ut unquam te corrîgas? tu ut ullam fugam meditère? tu ullum ut exilium cõgites? utinam tibi istam mentem dñi immortales darent! tametsi video, si meâ voce perterritus ire in exilium animum induxeris, quanta ²tempestas invidiae nobis, si minùs in praesens tempus, recenti memoriâ scelerum tuorum, at in posteritatem impendeat. ³Sed est mihi tanti, dummodo, ista tua privâta sit calamitas et a reipub. periculis sejungatur. Sed tu ut vitiis tuis commoveâre, ut legum poenas pertimescas, ut temporibus reipub. cedas, non est postulandum; neque enim, Catilina, is es, ut te aut pudor a turpitudine, aut metus a periculo, aut ratio a furôre revocârît.

Quamobrem, ut saepe jam dixi, proficiscere: ac si mihi inimico, ut praedicas, tuo conflare vis invidiam, rectâ perge in exilium: vix feram sermones hominum, si id feceris: vix molem istius invidiae, si in

because it was feared, that the conspirators would make another attempt to murder the Senators, while they were transacting business.

9. *Voces*—These voices expressed approbation of Cicero's proceedings, and uttered clamorous invectives against Catiline.

1. *Tela contineo*—If Cicero had permitted them, the Knights would have immediately put Catiline to death.

2. *Tempestas invidiae*—Cicero is sincere; for had Catiline, instead of going to the camp of Manlius in Tuscany, retired to some remote region, many would have believed that he had been persecuted by Cicero from personal enmity.

3. *Sed est mihi tanti*—The meaning of these words is—"But I do not esteem this of much importance."

exilium ieris jussu Consulis, sustinebo; sin autem
 4servire meae laudi et gloriae mavis, egredere cum
 importunâ sceleratorum manu: confer te ad Man-
 lium, concita perditos cives; secerne te a bonis;
 infer patriae bellum; exulta impio latrocinio; ut a
 me non ejectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos isse
 videaris. Quanquam quid ego te invitem, a quo
 jam sciam esse praemissos, qui tibi ad 6Forum
 Aurelium praestolarentur armati? cùm sciam pac-
 tam et constitutam esse cum Manlio diem? a quo
 etiam 6aquilam illam argenteam, quam tibi ac tuis
 omnibus perniciosam esse confido et funestam futu-
 ram, cui domi tuae sacrarium scelerum tuorum con-
 stitutum fuit, sciam esse praemissam? Tu 7ut illâ
 diutiùs carere possis, quam venerari ad caedem pro-
 ficiscens solebas? a cujus altaribus saepe istam dex-
 tram impiam ad necem civium transtulisti?

X. Ibis tandem aliquando, quò te jampridem tua
 ista cupiditas effrenata ac furiosa rapiebat; neque
 enim tibi haec res affert dolorem, sed quandam in-
 credibilem voluptatem: ad hanc te amentiam natura
 peperit, voluntas exercuit, fortuna servavit; nun-
 quam tu non modò otium, sed ne bellum quidem,
 nisi nefarium, concupisti; nactus es ex perditis atque

4. *Servire meae laudi*—Catiline's retreat to Manlius would convince the people of the justice and merit of Cicero's conduct.

5. *Forum Aurelium*—This was a town not far from the city, through which Catiline designed to pass to Manlius.

6. *Aquilam*—Eagles were used as standards in the Roman army, and so great was the reverence, in which they were held, that the soldiers frequently swore by them. The silver eagle, which is mentioned in the text, had belonged to Marius in the Cimbrian war; and it is probable that Catiline had made his partisans swear by this to follow him and execute his designs.

7. *Ut*—This word in this place has the signification of *quomodo*.

ab omni non modò fortunâ, verùm etiam spe derelictis, cònflatam improborum manum; hîc tû quâ lætitiâ perfruere? quibus gaudiis exultabis? quantâ in voluptate bacchabere, cùm in tanto numero tuorum neque audies virum bonum quenquam, neque videbis? Ad hujus vitæ studiûm meditati illi sunt, qui feruntur, labores tui: jacere humi non modò ad obsidendum stuprum, verùm etiam ad facinus obœandum: vigilare non solùm ad insidiandum somno maritorum, verùm etiam bonis occisorum. Habes ubi ostentes illam praeclaram tuam patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiae rerum omnium; quibus te brevi tempore confectum esse senties. Tantum profectum, cùm te a Consulatu repuli, ut exul potiùs tentare, quàm Consul vexare rempub. posses: atque ut id, quod esset a te sceleratè susceptum, ⁸latrocinium potiùs quàm bellum nominaretur.

XI. Nunc ut a me, P. C. quandam prope justam patriae ⁹querimoniam detester ac deprecet; percipite, quaeso, diligenter quae dicam, et ea penitus animis vestris mentibusque mandate. Etenim si mecum patria, quae mihi vitâ meâ multò est carior, si cuncta Italia, si omnis respub. loquatur: M. Tulli, quid agis? tu-ne eum, quem esse hostem comperisti, quem ducem belli futurum vides, quem expectari Imperatorem in castris hostium sentis, auctorem sceleris, principem conjurationis, evocatorem servo-

8. *Latrocinium*—The distinction between *bellum* and *latrocinium* is, *bellum* is used when a public officer declares war, *latrocinium* when a private person rebels against the constituted authorities of government.

9. *Querimoniam*—A want of energy, or an impolitic clemency.

rum et civium perditorum, exire patieris, ut abs te non emissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem esse videatur? non-ne hunc in vincula duci, non ad mortem rapi, non summo supplicio mactari imperabis? Quid tandem impedit te? mos-ne Majorum? at persaepe etiam ¹privati in hac repub. perniciosos cives morte multarunt; an ²leges, quae de civium Romanorum supplicio rogatae sunt? at nunquam in hac urbe ii, qui a repub. defecerunt, civium jura tenuerunt. An invidiam posteritatis times? praeclaram verò populo Rom. refers gratiam, qui te hominem ³per te cognitum, nullâ commendatione Majorum, ⁴tam maturè ad summum imperium per omnes honorum gradus extulit, si propter invidiam, aut alicujus periculi metum, salutem civium tuorum negligis. Sed si quis est invidiae metus, num est vehementiùs severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia, quàm inertiae, ac nequitiae pertimescenda? An cùm bello vastabitur Italia, vexabuntur urbes, tecta ardebunt; tum te non existimas invidiae incendio conflagraturum?

XII. His ergo sanctissimis reipub. vocibus, et

1. *Privati*—Alluding to the cases of Tiberius Gracchus and others.

2. *Leges*—A law was passed by Caius Gracchus, that no citizen should be put to death, unless by order of the people.

3. *Per te cognitum*—Cicero was what was called a *new man*, known only by himself, the first of his family, who had been elevated to official dignity.

4. *Tam mature*—Cicero was elected Consul the first year he was permitted by law to offer himself candidate, which was a circumstance, that never before happened to a *new man*.

5. *Per omnes honorum gradus*—It was necessary to pass through the Quaestorship, the Aedileship or Tribuneship and the Praetorship, before a Roman could stand candidate for the Consulship.

eorum hominum, qui idem sentiunt, mentibus pauca respondebo. Ego si hoc optimum factu judicarem, P. C. Catilinam morte multari, unius usuram 'horae gladiatoris isti ad vivendum non dedissem; etenim si summi viri, et clarissimi cives, Saturnini, et Gracchorum, et Flacci, et superiorum complurium sanguine non modò se non contaminârunt, sed etiam honestârunt; certè verendum mihi non erat, ne quid, hoc parricidâ civium interfecto, invidiae mihi in posteritatem redundaret. Quòd si ea mihi maximè impenderet, tamen hoc animæ semper fui, ut invidiam virtute partam, gloriam, non invidiam putarem. Quamquam nonnulli sunt in hoc ordine, qui aut ea, quae imminet, non videant; aut ea, quae vident, dissimulent: qui ⁷spem Catilinae mollibus sententiis aluerunt, conjurationemque nascentem non credendo corroboraverunt: quorum auctoritatem secuti multi, non solùm improbi, verùm etiam imperiti, si in hunc animadvertissem, crudeliter et regiè factum esse dicerent. Nunc intelligo, si iste, quò intendit, in Manliana castra pervenerit, neminem tam stultum fore, qui non videat conjurationem esse factam; neminem tam improbum, qui non fateatur. Hoc autem uno interfecto, intelligo hanc reip. pestem paulisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse. Quòd si se ejecerit, secumque suos eduxerit, et eòdem caeteros undique collectos naufragos aggrega-

6. *Gladiator*—This word here signifies one accustomed to the commission of murder.

7. *Spem Catilinae*—The hope of being able to seize the consulship, and destroy the republic.

verit; extinguetur atque delebitur non modò hæc tam adulta reipubl. pestis, verùm etiam stirps ac semen malorum omnium.

XIII. Etenim jamdiu, P. C. in his periculis conjunctionis insidiisque versamur; sed nescio quo pacto omnium scelerum, ac veteris furoris et audaciae maturitas in nostri Consulatus tempus erūpit. Quòd si ex tanto latrocinio iste unus tolletur, videbimur fortasse ad breve quoddam tempus curâ et metu esse relevati: periculum autem residebit, et erit inclusum penitus in venis, atque in visceribus reipublicae. Ut saepè homines aegri morbo gravi cùm aestu febrique jactantur, si aquam gelidam biberint, primò relevari videntur; deindè multò graviùs vehementiùsque affligantur; sic hic morbus, qui est in republicâ, relevatus istius poenâ, vehementiùs, vivis reliquis, ingravescet.

Quare, P. C. secedant improbi, secernant se a bonis, unum in locum congregentur; muro denique, id quod saepe jam dixi, secernantur a nobis; desinant insidiari domi suae Consuli, ³circumstare tribunal Praetoris urbani, obsidere cum gladiis curiam, maleolos et faces ad incendendam urbem comparare: sit denique inscriptum in fronte uniuscujusque civis, quid de repub. sentiat. Polliceor vobis hoc, P. C. tantam in nobis Coss. fore diligentiam, tantam in vobis auctoritatem, tantam in equitibus Rom. virtutem, tantam in omnibus bonis consensionem, ut Catilinae profectione omnia patefacta, illustrata, op-

3. *Circumstare tribunal Praetoris urbani*—The Praetor Urbanus was the Magistrate who administered justice in Rome.

pressa, vindicata esse videatis. Hisce ominibus, Catilina, cum summâ reip. salute, et cum tuâ peste ac pernicie, cumque eorum exitio, qui se tecum omni scelere, parricidioque junxerunt, proficiscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium. Tum tu, Jupiter, qui iisdem, quibus haec urbs, auspiciis a Romulo es constitutus, quem Statorem hujus urbis atque imperii verè nominamus, hunc et hujus socios a tuis aris, caeterisque templis, a tectis urbis ac moenibus, a vitâ fortunisque civium omnium arcebis : et omnes inimicos bonorum, hostes patriae, latrones Italiae, scelerum foedere inter se, ac nefariâ societate conjunctos, aeternis suppliciis vivos mortuosque mactabis.

ORATIO II. IN L. CATILINAM.

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN Cicero had finished his spirited speech in the Senate, Catiline still continued to practise the most profound dissimulation; he pretended to be entirely innocent of the crimes, of which he was accused; and, with downcast looks and in a suppliant manner, requested the Senators not to credit what his enemy had said against him. He said, that such was his family, and such had been the whole tenor of his life, that he was encouraged to hope for every honour, to which he could aspire: and that it could not be supposed, that he, a Patrician, whose ancestors, as well as himself, had given many proofs of their affection to the Roman people, should wish to overturn the government; and that Cicero, a stranger, of an obscure family, a citizen of Arpinum, a tenant only of a house in Rome which he had lately hired, should be so zealously active for its preservation. But as his language began to be abusive, he was interrupted by the Senators, who in a general exclamation, called him a *Parricide* and an *Enemy to his country*. Enraged by this treatment, he repeated in a loud and menacing tone of voice what he had said before to Cato; "Since I am circumvented, and driven headlong by my enemies, the flame that is raised about me I will extinguish by a general ruin." Perceiving that it was impossible to dissemble any longer, he determined to enter into action immediately, before the troops of the Republick were increased or prepared to meet him. He therefore left Rome that very night, and went towards Etruria; but before he departed from the city, he had an interview with Lentulus, Cethegus, and others, the boldest of the conspirators, in which he urged them to neglect no means of increasing their number, to put Cicero to death as soon as possible, and to prepare for a massacre and the conflagration of the city; and he gave them assurances, that he would soon return at the head of a strong army. When he had left the city, his friends reported, that he had gone into a voluntary exile at Marseilles. Cicero, however, knew that he was going to Manlius' camp, as he was certain that he had already sent thither arms, military ensigns, and particularly a silver eagle, for which he had a superstitious regard, because Caius Marius had used it in his expedition against the Cimbri. But that the report might not be believed in the city, and that it might not be said, that the Consul had driven an innocent man into banishment without previous trial, Cicero the next day assembled the people in the Forum to give them an account of what had been done in the Senate the day preceding, and of Catiline's sudden departure from Rome in consequence of it, which was the design of the following oration.

TANDEM aliquando, ¹Quirites, L. Catilinam furentem audaciâ, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriae nefariè molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferrum flammamque minitantem, ex urbe vel eiecimus, vel emisimus, vel ipsum egredientem verbis prosecuti sumus. ²Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit; nulla jam pernicies a monstro illo atque prodigio moenibus ipsis intra moenia comparabitur. Atque hunc quidem unum hujus belli domestici ducem sine controversiâ vicimus; non jam inter latera nostra ³sica illa versabitur: ⁴non in campo, non in foro, non in curiâ, non denique intra domesticos parietes pertimescemus; loco ille motus est, cùm est ex urbe de-

1. *Quirites*—The Senators of Rome were at first addressed with the title of *Patres*, which appellation was given them by Romulus on account of their age and dignity; those persons, who were chosen into the Senate by Lucius Junius Brutus, after the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud, were called *Conscripti*, that is, *enrolled together with the Senators*; but afterwards the name *Patres Conscripti* was usually applied to all the Senators.—The word *Quirites* was the appellation by which the people were addressed: it was at first peculiar to the Sabines, but when Romulus had united the Sabines to the Romans, it became the general name of the inhabitants of Rome.

2. *Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit*—These words are not tautological; *abiit* implies only the action of going, *excessit* signifies he, induced by some influential motive, has departed from us; *evasit* indicates that he has escaped from danger; *erupit* declares that, anxious for his safety and the execution of his designs, he fled with precipitancy from a place, where the latter was almost impossible, the former very precarious.

3. *Sica illa*—The dagger mentioned in the former oration.

4. *Non in campo.....foro.....curiâ.....domesticos parietes*—Before Catiline departed, Cicero, as his life had been so often attacked, thought it imprudent to go into the Campus Martius unarmed; when Catiline was concerned in the proceedings of courts of justice, he prevented the dictates of law and equity from being observed, by his menaces and arms; as he had often intended to murder the Senators, it was unsafe for that body of men to take their seats in the Senate-house; and before his departure it was hazardous even to sleep in private houses, that were not fortified.

pulsus ; palam jam cum hoste, nullo impediēte, bellum justum geremus. Sine dubio perdidimus hominem magnificēque vicimus, cū illum ex occultis insidiis in apertum latrocinium conjecimus. Quōd verō non cruentum mucronem, ut voluit, extulit, quōd ⁶vivis nobis egressus est, quōd ei ferrum de manibus extorsimus, quōd incolumes cives, quōd stantem urbem reliquit, quanto tandem illum moerore afflictum esse et profligatum putatis ? Jacet ille nunc, prostratusque est, Quirites, et se perculsum, atque abjectum esse sentit ; et retorquet oculos prosectō saepe ad hanc urbem, quam ex suis faucibus ereptam esse luget : quae quidem laetari mihi videtur, quōd tantam pestem evomuerit, forāsque projecerit.

II. At si quis est talis, ⁶quales esse omnes oportebat, qui hoc in ipso, in quo ⁷exultat et triumphat oratio mea, me vehementer accuset, quōd tam capitalem hostem non comprehenderim potiūs, quā emisirim : non est ista mea culpa, Quirites, sed temporum. Interemptum esse L. Catilinam, et gravissimo supplicio affectum jam pridem oportebat : idque a me et mos Majorum, et ⁸hujus imperii severitas,

5. *Vivis nobis*.—Catiline had said in the house of Lecca, that he would not go to the army, till he had killed Cicero.

6. *Quales esse omnes oportebat*.—All good men thought that Catiline ought to be put to death.

7. *Exultat et triumphat*.—Although it was a general opinion, that Catiline ought to be capitally punished, yet Cicero had great reason to boast of his prudence in driving him from the city, as it was the most effectual means of suppressing his conspiracy.

8. *Hujus imperii severitas*.—Such was the constitution of the Roman republick, that, when tumults and insurrections were raised by the intrigues of popular leaders, who disregarded the established laws and the liberties of the commonwealth, the policy of govern-

et respub. postulabat. Sed quàm multos fuisse putatis, qui, quae ego deferrem, ⁹non crederent? quàm multos, qui propter stultitiam non putarent? quàm multos, qui etiam defenderent? quàm multos, qui propter improbitatem faverent? Ac si, sublato illo, depelli a vobis omne periculum judicarem, jampridem ego L. Catilinam non modò invidiae meae, verùm etiam vitae periculo sustulissem; sed cùm viderem, ¹ne vobis quidem omnibus re etiam tum probatâ, si illum, ut erat meritis, morte multassem, fore, ut ejus socios invidiâ oppressus persequi non possem; rem huc deduxi, ut tum palàm pugnare possëtis, cùm hostem apertè videretis. Quem quidem ego hostem, Quirites, quàm vehementer foris esse timendum putem, licet hinc intelligatis, quòd illud etiam molestè fero, quòd ex urbe ²parùm comitatus exierit. Utinam ille omnes secum suas copias eduxisset. Tongillum ³mihi eduxit, quem amare in

ment required the creation of a despotick Dictator, or the investment of the Consuls with absolute power, in order that the republick might be preserved from harm.

9. *Non crederent*—Many would not believe what Cicero had published in the Senate, because they thought Cicero an enemy to Catiline from some private cause, and because they did not think the dangers imminent which he described. Many also pretended not to believe, who secretly favoured the designs of Catiline.

1. *Ne vobis quidem*—The meaning of this passage is—If I had put Catiline to death before you were convinced of his criminality, I should have been thought so great a tyrant, that I should have met with much opposition in my endeavours to suppress the other conspirators.

2. *Parum comitatus*—It is said, Catiline carried but three hundred partisans with him to the camp of Manlius.

3. *Mihi*—This word in this sentence conveys no meaning: it is used for the sake of euphony.—Tongillus, Publicius, and Munatius, men of abandoned characters, went with Catiline to Manlius' camp: conspirators of noble birth remained in the city.

⁴*praetextâ coeperat, Publicium et Munatium, quorum aes alienum contractum in popinâ nullum reip. motum afferre poterat. Reliquit quos viros? quanto alieno aere? quàm valentes? quàm nobiles?*

III. Itaque ego ⁶*illum exercitum, et Gallicanis legionibus, et hoc delectu, quem in agro Piceno et Gallico Q. Metellus habuit, et his copiis quae a nobis quotidie comparantur, magnoperè contemno, collectum ex senibus desperatis, ex agresti luxuriâ, ex rusticis mendiculis, ex decoctoribus, ex iis, qui vadimonia deserere, quàm illum exercitum, maluerunt: quibus ego non modò si aciem exercitus nostri, verùm etiam si ⁷edictum Praetoris ostendero, concident. Hos, quos video volitare in foro, quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam in Senatum venire; qui nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpurâ, malleam secum suos milites eduxisset; qui, si hîc permanent, mementote non tam exercitum*

4. *Praetextâ*—The *toga praetexta* was the gown, which, according to the Roman custom, all young men wore till the age of seventeen, at which time they were admitted into the Forum, and put on the *toga virilis*.

5. *Quos viros*—Cicero a few lines above expresses his regret, that Catilinè did not carry with him to the camp of Manlius all his friends; he feared more the conspirators within the city, than those without: they were of noble rank; they were immersed in debt; they were ready to commit any crime, however great.

6. *Illum exercitum*—The army of Catiline, when compared with the Gallick legions, and the levies Quintus Metellus had made in the Picene and Gallic territory, and with the troops which the Consuls daily raised, deserved the contempt of Cicero.

7. *Qui vadimonia deserere*—In the court of the Praetor in Rome, when the plaintiff had obtained a writ, he offered it to the defendant or dictated it to him, and then required that the defendant should give bail for his appearance in court on a certain day. When the day arrived, if either party were absent without a valid excuse, he lost his cause. If the defendant were absent, he was said *deserere vadimonium*, and the Praetor put the plaintiff in possession of his effects.

8. *Edictum Praetoris*—The writs of the Praetor, conveying to the respective plaintiffs the goods and estates of each defendant.

illum esse nobis, quàm hos, qui exercitum deseruerunt, pertimescendos. Atque hoc etiam magis sunt timendi, quòd, quid cogitent, me scire sentiunt, neque tamen permoventur. Video, cui ¹Apulia sit attributa, qui habeat Etruriam, qui agrum Picenum, qui Gallicum, qui sibi has urbanas insidias caedis atque incendiorum depoposcerit: omnia ²superioris noctis consilia ad me perlata esse sentiunt; patefeci in Senatu hesterno die: Catilina ipse pertimuit, profugit; ³hi quid expectant? nae illi vehementer errant, si illam meam pristinam lenitatem perpetuam sperant futuram.

IV. Quod expectavi, jam sum assecutus, ut vos omnes factam esse apertè conjurationem contra rempub. videretis: nisi verò si quis est, qui Catilinae similes cum Catilinâ sentire non putet. Non est jam lenitati locus, severitatem res ipsa flagitat; unum etiam nunc concedam: exeant, proficiscantur, ne patiantur desiderio sui Catilinam miserum tabescere: demonstrabo iter: Aureliâ viâ profectus est: si accelerare volunt, ad vesperam consequentur. O fortunatam remp. si quidem hanc sentinam hujus urbis ejecerit! uno mehercule Catilinâ exhausto, relevata mihi et recreata resp. videtur. Quid enim mali aut sceleris fingi aut excogitari potest, quòd non ille con-

9. *Apulia*—Apulia was assigned to Caius Julius, Etruria to Manius, and the Picene territory to Septimius. Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Crassus were appointed to burn the city, to murder their enemies, and to put the Senators to death.

1. *Superioris noctis*—The night, on which the conspirators met at the house of Marcus Lecca.

2. *Hi*—This word refers to the conspirators who remained in the city.

ceperit? quis totâ Italiâ veneficus, quis ³gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis ⁴testamentorum subjector, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, quis nepos, quis adulter, quæ mulier infamis, quis corruptor juventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilinâ non familiarissimè vixisse fateatur? quæ caedes per hosce annos sine illo facta est? quod nefarium stuprum non per illum? Jam verò quæ tanta in ullo unquam homine juventutis illecebra fuit, quanta in illo? qui alios ipse amabat turpissimè, aliorum amorì flagitiosissimè servebat: aliis fructum libidinum, aliis mortem parentum, non modò impellendo, verùm etiam adjuvando pollicebatur. Nunc verò quàm subitò non solùm ex urbe, verùm etiam ex agris ingentem numerum perditorum hominum collegerat? nemo, non modò Rômæ, sed nec ullo in angulo totius Italiae oppressus aere alieno fuit, quem non ad hoc incredibile sceleris foedus adsciverit.

V. Atque ut ejus diversa studia in dissimili ratione perspicere possitis, nemo est in ⁵ludo gladiatorio paulo ad facinus audacior, qui se non intimùm Catilinae esse fateatur: nemo ⁶in scenâ levior et nequi-

3. *Gladiator*—Gladiators were men who fought against each other, and against wild beasts for the amusement of the people. They were cruel and bloody-minded, often employed in assassination.

4. *Testamentorum subjector*—Forger of wills.

5. *Ludo gladiatorio*—There were schools in Rome, in which gladiators were kept and maintained by persons called *Laniatae*, who purchased and trained them. Gladiators were at first composed of captives and slaves, or of condemned malefactors. But afterwards also free born citizens, induced by hire or by inclination, fought on the stage, some even of noble birth.

6. *In scenâ levior*—Actors were not so much respected among the Romans as among the Greeks, but were held infamous.

or, qui se non ejusdem prope sodalem fuisse commemoret. Atque idem tamen stuprorum et scelerum exercitatione assuefactus, frigore et fame, et siti ac vigiliis perferendis, fortis ab istis suis sociis praedicabatur, cum industriae subsidia, atque instrumenta virtutis in libidine audaciâque consumeret. Hunc verò si sui fuerint comites secuti, si ex urbe exierint desperatorum hominum flagitiosi greges, ô nos beates ! ô rempubl. fortunatam ! ô praeclaram laudem consulatus mei ! Non enim jam sunt mediocres hominum libidines, non humanae audaciae, ac tolerandae : nihil cogitant, nisi caedem, nisi incendia, nisi rapinas : patrimonium suum profuderunt, fortunas suas obligaverunt : res eas jampridem, fides deficere nuper coepit ; eadem tamen illa, quae erat in abundantia, libido permanet. Quod si in vino et alea comessationes solum et scorta quaererent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi : hoc verò quis ferre possit, inertes homines fortissimis viris insidiari, stultissimos prudentissimis, ebriosos sobriis, dormientes vigilantibus ? qui mihi accubantes in conviviis, complexi mulieres impudicas, vino languidi, confecti cibo, sertis redimitti, unguentis obliti, debilitati stupris, eructant sermonibus suis caedem bonorum, atque urbis incendia ; quibus ego confido impendere fatum aliquod : et poenas jamdiu improbitati, nequitiae, sceleri, libidini debitas, aut instare jam planè, aut certè jam appropinquare. Quos si meus consulatus, quoniam sanare non potest, sustulerit ; non breve nescio quod tempus, sed multa saecula propagarit reipublicae ; nulla est enim natio, quam pertimescamus : nullus rex, qui bellum populo

Romano inferre possit ; omnia sunt externa, ⁷unius virtute, terrâ marique pacata ; domesticum bellum manet : intûs insidiae sunt : intûs inclusum periculum est : intûs est hostis ; cum luxuriâ nobis, cum amenitiâ, cum scélere certandum est. Huic ego me bello ducem profiteor, Quirites : suscipio inimicitias hominum perditorum ; quae sanari poterunt, quâcunque ratione sanabo ; quae resecanda erunt, non patiar ad perniciem civitatis manare. Proinde aut exeat, aut quiescant : aut, si et in urbe, et in eadem mente permanent, ea, quae merentur, expectent.

VI. At etiam sunt, Quirites, qui dicant a me in exilium ejectum esse Catilinam : quod ego si verbo assequi possem, istos ipsos ejicerem, qui haec loquuntur ; homo enim videlicet timidus, et permodestus, vocem consulis ferre non potuit : simul atque ire in exilium jussus est, paruit. Quid, quod hesterno die cum domi meae penè interfectus essem, Senatum in aedem Jovis Statoris convocavi ? non omnem ad patres conscriptos detuli ? quod cum Catilina venisset, quis eum Senator appellavit ? quis salutavit ? quis denique ita aspexit, ut perditum civem, ac non potius, ut importunissimum hostem ? quin etiam principes ejus ordinis partem illam subselliorum, ad quam ille accesserat, nudam atque inanem reliquerunt. Hic ego, vehemens ille Consul, qui verbo cives in exilium ejicio, quaesivi a Catilinâ, an nocturno conventu apud M. Leccam fuisset, necne : cum ille homo audacissimus, conscientiam convictus, primò reticuisset, patefeci

7. *Unius virtute*—The person, to whom these words refer, was Pompey, who by his military talents had at this time successfully terminated the Mithridatick war, and the war of the Pirates.

caetera : quid eâ nocte egisset, ubi fuisset, quid in proximam constituisset, quemadmodum esset ei ratio totius belli descripta, edocui ; cùm haesitaret, cùm teneretur, quaesivi quid dubitaret eò proficiaci, quò jampridem parârat ; cùm arma, cùm seures, cùm faces, cùm tubas, cùm signa militaria, cùm aquilam illam argenteam, cui ille etiam sacrarium scelerum domi suae fecerat, scirem esse praemissam. In exilium ejiciebam, quem jam ingressum esse in bellum videbam ? * Etenim, credo, Manlius iste, centurio, qui in agro Faesulano castra posuit, bellum popul o Romano suo nomine indixit ; et illa castra nunc non Catilinam ducem expectant ; et ille ejectus in exilium, * se Massiliam, ut aiunt, non in haec castra conferet.

VII. O conditionem miseram non modò administrandae, verùm etiam conservandae reipublicae ! nunc si L. Catilina, consiliis, laboribus, periculis meis circumclusus ac debilitatus, subito pertimuerit, sententiam mutaverit, deseruerit suos, consilium belli faciendi abjecerit, ex hoc cursu sceleris et belli iter ad fugam atque exilium converterit ; non ille a me spoliatus armis audaciae, non obstupefactus ac perterritus meâ diligentia, non de spe conatuque depulsus, sed indemnatus, innocens in exilium ejectus a consule vi et minis esse dicetur : et erunt, qui illum, si hoc fecerit, non improbum, sed miserum ; me non

8. *Etenim credo*—This sentence is ironical.

9. *Se Massiliam*—Marseilles was a celebrated city in Narbonese Gaul. It is said by Sallust, that Catiline, after his departure from Rome, wrote letters to the most important inhabitants, in which he pretended that, being unable to withstand the persecution of his enemies, who had falsely accused him, he had retired to this city, not because he was conscious of any guilt, but to prevent the tumults and insurrections, which might be raised in his favour.

diligentissimum consulem, sed crudelissimum tyrannum existimari velint. ¹ Est mihi tanti, Quirites, hujus invidiæ falsæ atque iniquæ tempestatem subire, dummodo a vobis hujus horribilis belli ac nefarii periculum depellatur. Dicatur sanè ejectus esse a me, dummodo eat in exilium ; sed, mihi credite, non est iturus. Nunquam ego a diis immortalibus optabo, Quirites, invidiæ meæ levandæ causâ, ut L. Catilinam ducere exercitum hostium, atque in armis volitare audiat : sed triduo tamen audietis : multòque magis illud timeo, ne mihi sit invidiosum aliquando, quòd illum emiserim potius, quàm quòd ejecerim. Sed cùm sint homines, qui illum, cum profectus sit, ejectum esse dicant ; iidem, si interfectus esset, quid dicerent ? Quanquam isti, qui Catilinam Massiliam ire dictitant, non tam hoc queruntur, quàm verentur. Nemo est istorum tam misericors, qui illum non ad Manlium, quàm ad Massilienses ire malit. Ille autem, si, meherculè, hoc, quod agit, nunquam antè cogitasset, tamen latrocinantem se interfici mallet, quàm exulem vivere ; nunc verò, cùm ei nihil adhuc ² præter ipsius voluntatem cogitationemque acciderit, nisi quòd vivis nobis Româ profectus est ; optemus potius, ut eat in exilium, quàm queramur.

VIII. Sed cur tamdiu de uno hoste loquimur, et de eo hoste qui jam fatetur se esse hostem, et quem, quia, quod semper volui, murus interest, non timeo : de his qui dissimulant, qui Romæ remanent, qui nobiscum sunt, nihil dicimus ? quos quidem ego, si ullo

1. *Est mihi tanti*—I am willing, or, it is of little concern to me.

2. *Præter*—*Præter* in this place has the signification of *contra*.

modo fieri posset, non tam ulcisci studeo, quàm sanare, et ipsos placare reipub. neque, id quare fieri non possit, si me audire voluerint, intelligo. *Exponam enim vobis, Quirites, ex quibus generibus hominum istae copiae comparentur: deinde singulis medicinam consilii atque orationis meae, si quam potero, afferam, Unum genus est eorum, qui magno in aere alieno majores etiàm possessiones habent, quarum amore adducti dissolvi nullo modo possunt. Horum hominum species est honestissima: sunt enim locupletes: voluntas verò, et causa impudentissima. *Tu agris, tu aedificiis, tu argento, tu familiâ, tu rebus omnibus ornatus et copiosus sis, et dubites aliquid de possessione detrahare, ac fidem acquirere? quid enim expectas? bellum? quid? ergo in vastatione omnium, tuas possessiones sacrosanctas futuras putas? *an tabulas novas? errant qui istas a Catilinâ expectant; meo bene-

3. *Exponam enim vobis*—Catiline had collected his partisans from six different classes of men, which Cicero here begins to enumerate, and also to prove to them, that peace, and order, and the regular administration of justice, would be more conducive to their prosperity, than the wicked measures they designed to follow.

4. *Tu agris*—This first class possessed great property, but owed great debts. They wished to retain their possessions, and defraud their creditors.

5. *An tabulas novas*—By the laws of the twelve tables it was ordained, that insolvent debtors should be given up to their creditors to be bound in fetters and cords; and, although they did not entirely lose the rights of freemen, yet they were in actual slavery, and often treated more harshly than even slaves themselves. To check the cruelty of usurers, a law was afterwards made, by which it was provided, that no debtors should be kept in irons or in bonds; that the goods of the debtor, not his person, should be given up to his creditors. But the people, not satisfied with this, as it did not free them from prison, often afterwards demanded an entire abolition of debts, which they used to call NEW TABLES. But this was never granted them. At one time, however, by a law passed by Valerius Flaccus, silver was paid with brass, that is, the fourth part of a debt only was paid; an *as* for a *sestertius*, and a *sestertius* for a

ficio tabulae novae proferentur, verùm auctionariae. Neque enim isti, qui possessiones habent, aliâ ratione ullâ salvi esse possunt. Quòd si maturiùs facere voluissent, neque (id quod stultissimum est) certare cum usuris fructibus praediorum, locupletioribus his, et melioribus civibus uteremur. Sed hosce homines minimè puto pertimescendos, quòd aut deduci de sententiâ possunt, aut, si permanebunt, magis mihi videntur vota facturi contra remp. quàm arma laturi.

IX. *Alterum genus est eorum, qui, quanquam premuntur aere alieno, dominationem tamen expectant: rerum potiri volunt: honores, quos, quietâ repub. desperant, perturbatâ, consequi se posse arbitrantur. Quibus hoc praecipendum videtur, unum scilicet et idem, quod caeteris omnibus, ut desperent se id, quod conantur, consequi posse: primum omnium me ipsum vigilare, adesse, providere reipub. deinde magnos animos esse in bonis viris, magnam concordiam, maximam multitudinem: magnas praeterea copias militum: deos denique immortales huic invicto populo, clarissimo imperio, pulcherrimae urbi, contra tantam vim sceleris, praesentes auxilium esse laturos. Quòd si jam sint id, quod cum summo furòre cupiunt, adepti; num illi in cinere urbis, et sanguine civium, quae mente consceleratâ ac nefariâ concupierunt,

denarius; or 25 for 100, and 250 for 1000. Such laws, and particularly laws for the abolition of debts, were often proposed by those demagogues, who wished to acquire great influence among the people. Catiline, in order to attach to himself the most indigent class of citizens, who were powerful in insurrections, had promised them **NEW TABLES**, by which all their debts should be abolished.

6. *Alterum genus*—Men of ruined fortunes, who aspire after honours and commands, that, by oppressing the allies and subjects of the commonwealth, they may in some measure retrieve their affairs.

se consules ac dictatores, aut etiam reges sperant futuros? non vident id se cupere, quod si adepti fuerint, fugitivo alicui aut gladiatori concedi sit necesse? Tertium genus est aetate jam confectum, sed tamen exercitatione robustum: quo ex genere est ipse Manlius, cui nunc Catilina successit. *7* Hi sunt homines ex iis coloniis, quas Faesulis Sylla constituit: quas ego universas civium esse optimorum, et fortissimorum virorum sentio: sed tamen hi sunt coloni, qui se insperatis repentinisque pecuniis sumptuosius insolentiùsque jactarunt; hi dum aedificant tanquam beati, dum praediis, lecticis, familiis magnis, convivis, apparatus delectantur, in tantum aes alienum inciderunt, ut, si salvi esse velint, Sylla sit iis ab inferis excitandus; qui etiam nonnullos agrestes homines tenues atque egentes in eandem istam spem rapinarum veterum impulerunt. Quos ego utrosque, Quirites, in eodem genere praedatorum direptorumque pono. Sed eos hoc moneo, desinant furere, et proscriptiones et dictaturas cogitare. Tantus enim illorum temporum dolor inustus est civitati, ut jam ista non modò homines, sed ne pecudes quidem mihi passurae esse videantur.

X. Quartum genus est sanè varium et mistum, et turbulentum, qui jampridem premuntur; qui nunquam emergent: qui partim inertia, partim malè gerendo negotio, partim etiam sumptibus, in vetere aere

7. Hi sunt homines—Upon the conclusion of Sylla's civil war, he settled many of his soldiers at Faesulae, upon lands, of which he had deprived those, who were opposed to him. These soldiers having spent in debauchery the estates they acquired by plunder, wished another civil war, by which they might again enrich themselves at the expense of their country.

alieno vacillant: qui ² *vadimonii*, judiciis, proscriptionibus bonorum defatigati, permulti et ex urbe, et ex agris se in illa castra conferre dicuntur. Hosce ego non tam milites acres, quàm insidiatores lentos esse arbitror; qui homines primùm, si stare non possunt, corruant: sed ita, ut non modò civitas, sed ne vicini quidem proximi sentiant; nam illud non intelligo, quarenebrem, si vivere honestè non possunt, perire turpiter velint: aut cur minore dolore perituros se cum multis, quàm si soli pereant, arbitrentur? Quintum genus est parricidarum, sicariorum, denique omnium facinorosorum: quas ego a Catilinâ non revoco; nam neque divelli ab eo possunt: et pereant sanè in latrocinio, quoniam sunt ita multi, ut eos capere carcer non possit. Postremum autem genus est, non solùm numero, verùm etiam genere ipso, atque vitâ, quod proprium est Catilinæ, de ejus delectu, immo verò de complexu ejus ³ *ac sinu*: quos pexo capillo nitidos, aut ⁴ *imberbes*,

8. *Vadimonii*—See Note 7th, page 31st.

9. *Ac sinu*—This expression indicates great familiarity and friendship; it implies that these effeminate and profligate boys, these gamblers, adulterers, and debauchees, frequently supped with Catiline, and were often in his company. At their meals the Romans reclined upon couches. On each couch there were commonly three. They lay with the upper part of their body reclined upon the left arm, the head a little raised, the body supported by cushions, and the limbs stretched out at full length, or a little bent. The feet of the first were behind the back of the second, and his feet behind the back of the third, with a pillow between each. The head of the second was opposite to the breast of the first, so that, if he wanted to speak to him, he was obliged to lean upon his bosom, *in sinu recumbere*; therefore, to be *de complexu ejus ac sinu* was to be one of his most intimate friends.

1. *Imberbes aut bene barbato*—In the days of Cicero, the beard was shaven for the first time sooner or later at pleasure; sometimes when the *toga virilis* was assumed, but usually about the age of twenty-one. Hence young men with a long down were called *juvenes barbatuli*, or *bene barbati*.

aut benè barbatos videtis ; ²manicatis et talaribus tunicis ; velis amictos, non togis : quorum omnis industria vitae, et vigilandi labor, ³in antelucanis coenis expromitur. In his gregibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes impuri, impudicique versantur. Hi pueri tam lepidi ac delicati, non solùm amare, et amari, neque cantare, et saltare, sed etiam sicas vibrare, et spargere venena didicerunt : qui nisi exeunt, nisi pereunt, etiam si Catilina perierit, scitote hoc in repub. seminarium Catilinarium futurum. Veruntamen quid sibi isti miseri volunt ? num suas secum mulierculas sunt in castra ducturi ? quemadmodum autem illis carere poterunt, his praesertim jam ⁴noctibus ? quo autem pacto illi ⁵Apenninum, atque illas pruinas ac nives perferent ? nisi idcirco se faciliùs hiemem toleraturos putant, quòd nudi in convivii saltare didicerunt. O bellum magnoperè pertimescendum, cùm hanc sit habiturus Catilina scortatorum ⁶cohortem praetoriam !

XI. Instruite nunc, Quirites, contra has tam praeclaras Catilinae copias vestra praesidia, vestrosque exercitus : et primùm gladiatori illi confecto et saucio, consules imperatores que vestros opponite : deinde contra illam naufragorum ejectam ac debilitatam ma-

2. *Manicatis et talaribus tunicis*—The Romans wore below the *toga* a white woollen vest called *tunica*, which came down a little below the knees before, and to the middle of the legs behind, at first without sleeves. Tunics with sleeves (*tunicae manicatae*) or reaching to the ankles (*talares*) were reckoned effeminate.

3. *In antelucanis coenis*—Suppers at which they sat all night.

4. *Noctibus*—This oration was delivered in November.

5. *Apenninum*—The Apennine mountains extend along the middle of Italy.

6. *Cohortem praetoriam*—Scipio Africanus first instituted the praetorian cohort, whose business it was to attend and serve the general as his guard.

num, florem totius Italiae ac robur educite. Jam verò urbes coloniarum ac ⁷municipiorum respondebunt Catilinae tumultis silvestribus; neque verò caeteras copias, ornamenta, praesidia vestra, cum illius latronis inopiâ atque egestate conferre debeo. Sed si, omissis his rebus omnibus, quibus nos suppeditamur, eget ille Senatu, equitibus Romanis, populo, urbe, aerario, vectigalibus, cunctâ Italiâ, provinciis omnibus, exteris nationibus; si, inquam, his rebus omissis, ipsas causas, quae inter se configunt, contendere velimus, ex eo ipso, quàm valde illi jaceant, intelligere possumus. Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc petulantia: hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum: hinc fides, illinc fraudatio: hinc pietas, illinc scelus: hinc constantia, illinc furor: hinc honestas, illinc turpitudine: hinc continentia, illinc libido: hinc denique aequitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, virtutes omnes certant cum iniquitate, cum luxuriâ, cum ignaviâ, cum temeritate, cum vitiis omnibus: postremò copia cum egestate, bona ratio cum perditâ, mens sana cum amentâ, bona denique spes cum omnium rerum desperatione configit. In hujusmodi certamine ac praelio, non-ne, etiamsi hominum studia deficient, dii ipsi immortales cogent ab his praeclarissimis virtutibus tot et tanta Catia superari?

XII. Quae cum ita sint, Quirites, vos, quemadmodum jam antea dixi, vestra tecta custodiis vigiliisque defendite: mihi, ut urbi, sine vestro motu ac sine ullo tumultu, satis esset praesidii consultum ac pro-

7. *Municipiorum*—Municipia were foreign towns, whose inhabitants obtained the rights of Roman citizens.

visum est. Colōni omnes, municipesque vestri, certiores a me facti de hāc nocturnā excursionē Catilinae, facillē urbes suas, finesque defendent: gladiatores, quam sibi ille maximam manum, et certissimam fore putavit, quanquam meliore animo sunt, quam pars Patriciorum, potestate tamen nostrā continebuntur.

*Q. Metellus, quem ego prospiciens hoc, in agrum Gallicanum Picenumque praemisi, aut opprimet hominem, aut omnes ejus motus conatusque prohibebit; reliquis autem de rebus constituendis, maturandis, agendis, jam ad Senatum referemus, quem vocari videtis. Nunc illos qui in urbe remanserunt, atque adeo qui contra urbis salutem, omniumque vestrum, in urbe a Catilina relictī sunt, quanquam sunt hostes, tamen quia nati sunt cives, monitos etiam atque etiam volo. Mea lenitas adhuc si cui solutior visa est, hoc expectavit, ut id, quod latebat, erumperet. Quod reliquum est, jam non possum oblivisci, meam hanc esse patriam, me horum esse consulem: mihi aut cum his vivendum, aut pro his esse moriendum; nullus est portae custos, nullus insidiator viae: si qui exire volunt, consulere sibi possunt: qui verò in urbe se commoverit, cujus ego non modò factum, sed inceptum ullum conatumve contra patriam deprehendero, sentiet in hāc urbe esse consules vigilantes, esse egregios magistratus, esse fortem Senatum, esse arma, esse carcerem: quem vindicem nefariorum, ac manifestorum scelerum majores nostri esse voluerunt.

XIII. Atque haec omnia sic agentur, Quirites, ut res maximae minimo motu, pericula summa nullo tu-

*Q. Metellus—This is the Quintus Metellus Celer, into whose party Catiline offered to put himself, but who rejected him.

multu, bellum intestinum ac domesticum, post hominum memoriam crudelissimum ac maximum, ¹me uno togato duce et imperatore, sedetur ; quod ego sic administrabo, Quirites, ut, si ullo modo fieri poterit, ne improbus quidem quisquam in hâc urbe poenam sui sceleris sufferat. Sed si vis manifestae audaciae, si impendens patriae periculum me necessario de hâc animi lenitate deduxerint, illud profectò perficiam, quod in tanto et tam insidioso bello vix optandum videtur, ut ne quis bonus intereat, paucorumque poenâ vos omnes jam salvi esse possitis. Quae quidem ego neque meâ prudentiâ, neque humanis consiliis fretus polliceor vobis, Quirites : sed multis, et non dubiis ¹deorum immortalium significationibus, quibus ego ducibus in hanc spem sententiamque sum ingressus : qui jam non procul, ²ut quondam solebant, ab extero hoste atque longinquo, sed hîc praesentes suo numine atque auxilio sua templa, atque urbis tecta defendunt : quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari, atque implorare debetis : ut quam urbem pulcherrimam, florentissimam, potentissimamque esse voluerunt, hanc omnibus hostium copiis terrâ marique superatis a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere defendant.

9. *Me uno togato duce*—The *toga* was the robe of peace ; *togati* is often opposed to *armati*.

1. *Deorum immortalium significationibus*—Plutarch relates, that while the Vestal Virgins were performing sacred rites in Cicero's house for the safety of the people, a flame suddenly issued from the altar. Many other omens happened about this time, of which Cicero made use as means to excite in the people a sense of their danger, and to persuade them that the Gods interested themselves in the preservation of the city. These omens are more particularly mentioned in the succeeding oration.

2. *Ut quondam*—Referring to the Carthaginian war, and other times, when Rome was in danger from a foreign enemy.

ORATIO III. IN L. CATILINAM.

INTRODUCTION.

AFTER Catiline's departure, Lentulus and other conspirators remained in Rome to engage in the conspiracy all, who, from their vicious manners or necessitous circumstances, he thought, would be very willing to promote a revolution; not citizens only, but any kind of men, who could be usefully employed. At this time there happened to be in the city deputies from the Allobroges, Gauls inhabiting the countries now called Savoy and Dauphiné, a warlike people and ever disaffected to the Roman power. These deputies were come to solicit the Senate for some relief under the burthen of those debts, with which the nation, as well as many private persons, was overwhelmed, by means of the oppressive avarice of the Roman governors. They had met with no success, and were about returning home, when Lentulus, knowing their circumstances, and thence imagining it would not be difficult to draw them into the plot, employed Umbrenus to discover to them the whole plan of the conspiracy, and to engage their concurrence. The Allobroges at first were pleased with the prospect, and promised to furnish the conspirators with a body of horse; but when they began to reflect upon what had been proposed to them, they resolved to discover all they had learned of the plot to Q. Fabius Sanga, who immediately gave intelligence of it to the consul. Cicero directed the deputies to feign a zeal for carrying on the enterprise, till they had acquired information of all the designs of the conspiracy, with distinct proofs against the particular actors in it. They therefore procured a meeting of the conspirators, and insisted upon an oath from Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Cassius, under their hands and seals, to shew to their constituents, who without such credentials, would never be induced to enter into an engagement so hazardous. Not suspecting any fraud, all complied, except Cassius who promised he would be in their country in a very short time. Vulturcius was appointed to introduce them to Catiline in their road, and Lentulus at the same time sent a particular letter to Catiline, under his own hand and seal, though without his name. Cicero being informed of all the proceedings of this meeting, engaged the deputies to be upon the Milvian bridge at a certain time of night with Vulturcius, their letters, and papers, and told them, that L. Flaccus and C. Pomptinus, two of the Praetors, whom he had ordered to lie in ambush near the place with a strong guard of friends and soldiers, would there arrest them and bring them to him. His directions

were observed, and the prisoners brought to his house as soon as the day began to dawn. He immediately sent for Lentulus, Gabinius, Statilius, and Cethegus, who, suspecting nothing, came to him. The consul being informed also of a quantity of arms provided by Cethegus for the use of the conspiracy, ordered C. Sulpicius, another of the Prætors, to search his house, where he found a great number of swords and daggers with other arms, newly cleaned, and ready for present service. Cicero then assembled the Senate in the temple of Concord, carried thither the deputies and conspirators, related all that he had discovered and done, examined the several parties, and made a complete discovery of the whole plot. The senate then, the witnesses and criminals being withdrawn, went into debate upon the state of the republick, and resolved, that publick thanks should be decreed to Cicero, who had delivered the republick from the greatest dangers; that thanks should also be given to the Prætors, Placcus and Pomptinus, for their faithful execution of Cicero's orders; that the conspirators, who were taken, and others, who should afterwards be arrested, should be kept in safe custody; and that a publick thanksgiving should be appointed in Cicero's name, for his having preserved the city from a conflagration, the citizens from a massacre, and Italy from a war. Cicero then went into the rostra, and gave the people an account of the discovery, and of the resolutions of the senate thereupon, in the following speech.

REMPUBLICAM, Quirites, vitamque omnium
 vestrum, bona, fortunas, conjuges, liberosque vestros,
 atque hoc ¹domicilium clarissimi imperii fortunatissimam pulcherrimamque urbem, hodierno die, deorum immortalium summo erga vos amore, laboribus, consiliis, periculisque meis, ex flammâ atque ferro, ac penè ²ex faucibus fati ereptam, et vobis conservatam, ac restitutam videtis. Et, si non minùs nobis jucundi atque illustres sunt ii dies, quibus conservamur, quàm illi, quibus nascimur; quòd salutis certa lætitia est, nascendi incerta conditio; et quòd sine sensu nascimur, cum voluptate conservamur: profectò, quoniam

1. *Domicilium*—Rome was called *domicilium imperii*, because it was the seat of government.

2. *Ex faucibus fati*—The word *fatum* was often used by the ancients to denote death, and the dissolution of states and empires.

illum, qui hanc urbem condidit, ³Romulum ad deos immortales benevolentia, fama^{que} sustulimus; esse apud vos, posterosque vestros in honore debebit is, qui eandem hanc urbem conditam amplificatamque servavit; nam toti urbi, templis, delubris, tectis ac moenibus subjectos propè jam ignes, circumdatosque restinximus: iidemque gladios in rempub. districtos retudimus, mucronesque eorum a jugulis vestris deiecimus. Quae quoniam in Senatu illustrata, patefacta, compertaque sunt per me, vobis jam exponam breviter, Quirites, ut et quanta, et quàm manifesta, et quâ ratione investigata et comprehensa sint, vos, qui et ignoratis, et expectatis, scire possitis. Principio, ut Catilina paucis ante diebus erupit ex urbe, cùm sceleris sui socios, et hujusce nefarii belli acerrimos duces Romae reliquisset; semper vigilavi, et providi, Quirites, quemadmodum in tantis et tam absconditis insidiis salvi esse possemus.

II. Nam tum, cùm ex urbe Catilinam ejiciebam (non enim jam vereor hujus verbi invidiam, cùm illa magis sit timenda, quòd vivus exierit) sed tum, cùm illum exterminari volebam; aut reliquam conjuratorum manum simul exituram, aut eos qui restitissent, infirmos sine illo, ac debiles fore putabam. Atque

3. *Romulum*—As Romulus, in the thirty seventh year of Rome, and in the sixtieth of his age, was reviewing his troops in a plain without the city, a sudden storm of hail and thunder dispersed his soldiers. The Senators, who had attended him, seeing him alone, thought this a favourable opportunity to put him to death, for the absolute tyranny, which had lately characterised his conduct. He therefore was slain, and his body immediately conveyed out of sight. To conceal the fact and their criminality, the Senators reported that he was suddenly surrounded with a flame, and snatched up in it from earth to heaven. The report gained credit, and Romulus was worshipped as a deity.

ego, ut vidi, quos maximo furore et scelere esse inflammatos sciebam, eos nobiscum esse, et Romae remansisse : in eo omnes dies noctesque consumpsi, ut quid agerent, quid molirentur, sentirem ac viderem : ut, quoniam auribus vestris, propter incredibilem magnitudinem sceleris, minorem fidem faceret oratio mea, rem ita comprehenderem, ut tum demùm animis salutis vestrae provideretis, cùm oculis maleficio ipsum videretis. Itaque ut ⁴comperi legatos Allobrogum, belli Transalpini, et tumultus Gallici excitandi causâ, a P. Lentulo esse sollicitatos, eosque in Galliam ad suos ci-ves eodem itinere cum literis mandatisque ad Catilinam esse missos, comitemque iis adjunctum Vulturcium, atque huic datas esse ad Catilinam literas : facultatem mihi oblatam putavi, ut, quod erat difficillimum, quodque ego semper optabam a diis immortalibus, tota res non solùm a me, sed etiam a Senatu, et a vobis manifestè deprehenderetur. Itaque hesterno die L. Flaccum et C. Pomptinum, Praetores, fortissimos atque amantissimos reipublicae viros, ad me vocavi : rem omnem exposui : quid fieri placeret, ostendi. Illi autem qui omnia de repub. praeclara atque egregia sentirent, sine recusatione, ac sine ullâ morâ, negotium susceperunt, et, cùm advesperasceret, occultè ad ⁵pontem Milvium pervenerunt ; atque ibi in proximis villis ita bipartiti fuerunt, ut Tiberis inter eos, et pons interesset ; eodem autem et ipsi, sine cùjusquam sus-

4. *Comperi*—He was informed of this by Fabius Sanga, to whom the deputies themselves of the *Allobroges* communicated it.

5. *Pontem Milvium*—The Milvian bridge was erected over the Tiber, upon the road to Etruria. It was about two miles from the city.

picione, multos fortes viros eduxerunt; et ego de⁶ praefecturâ Reatinâ complures delectos adolescentes, quorum operâ utor assiduè in reipublicae praesidio, cum gladiis miseram. Interim⁷ tertiâ ferè vigiliâ exactâ, cùm jam pontem cum magno comitatu legati Allobrogum ingredi inciperent, unâque Vulturcius; fit in eos impetus: educuntur et ab illis gladii, et a nostris: res erat Praetoribus nota solis: ignorabatur a caeteris.

III. Tum interventu Pomptini atque Flacci, pugna, quae erat commissa, sedatur: literae quaecunque erant in eo comitatu, integris signis, Praetoribus traduntur: ipsi comprehensi, ad me, cùm jam dilucesceret, deducuntur. Atque horum omnium scelerum improbissimum machinatorem Cimbrum Gabinium, statim ad me, nihil dum suspicantem vocavi. Deinde item arcessitur P. Statilius, et post eum Cethegus: tardissimè autem Lentulus venit, credo, quòd literis dandis praeter consuetudinem proximâ nocte vigilârat. Cùm verò summis ac clarissimis hujus civitatis viris, qui, auditâ re, frequentes ad me manè convenerant, literas a me priùs aperiri, quàm ad Senatum referri placeret, ne, si nihil esset inventum, temerè a me tantus tumultus injectus civitati videretur, negavi me esse facturum, ut de periculo publico non ad concilium publicum rem integram deferrem. Etenim, Qui-

6. *Praefecturâ Reatinâ*—Reate was a Sabine town. *Praefecturae* were towns to which praefects were annually sent from Rome to administer justice, chosen partly by the people, and partly by the Praetor.

7. *Tertiâ vigiliâ*—The Romans divided the night into four watches. The third watch commenced about midnight, and terminated about three o'clock in the morning.

rites, si ea, quae erant ad me delata, reperta non essent ; tamen ego non arbitrabar in tantis reip. periculis esse mihi nimiam diligentiam pertimescendam. Senatum frequentem celeritèr, ut vidistis, coegi : atque interea statim, admonitu Allobrogum, C. Sulpicium, Praetorem, fortem virum, misi, qu^o ex aedibus Cethegi, si quid telorum esset, afferret : ex quibus ille maximum sicarum numerum, et gladiatorum extulit.

IV. Introduxi Vulturcium sine Gallis ; fidem ei publicam jussu Senatûs dedi : hortatus sum, ut ea quae sciret sine timore indicaret. Tum ille dixit, cùm vix se ex magno timore recreâsset, a P. Lentulo se habere ad Catilinam mandata et literas, ut servorum praesidio uteretur, et ad urbem quamprimùm cum exercitu accederet : id autem eo consilio, ut, cum urbem omnibus ex partibus, quemadmodum descriptum distributumque erat, incendissent, caedemque infinitam civium fecissent, praesto esset ille, qui et fugientes exciperet, et se cum his urbanis ducibus conjungeret. Introducti autem Galli jusjurandum sibi et literas a P. Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio ad suam gentem datas esse dixerunt : atque ita sibi ab his et a L. Cassio esse praescriptum, ut equitatum in Italiam quamprimùm mitterent, pedestres sibi copias non defuturas : Lentulum autem sibi confirmâsse ⁸ex fatis Sibyllinis

8. *Ex fatis Sibyllinis*.—When Tarquinius Superbus was king of Rome, a certain woman, called Amalthea, from a foreign country, is said to have come to him, wishing to sell nine books of Sibylline or prophetick oracles. Being refused the price, which she asked for them, she went away and burnt three of them. Returning soon after, she sought the same price for the remaining six. Refused again, she went and burnt other three, and coming back still demanded the same price for the three, which remained. Tarquin, surprised at the strange conduct of the woman, consulted the Ar-

¹haruspicumque responsis, se esse ¹tertium illum Cornelium, ad quem regnum urbis hujus atque imperium pervenire esset necesse : ²Cinnam ante se, et ³Syllam fuisse : eundemque dixisse fatalem hunc esse animum ad interitum hujus urbis atque imperii, qui esset

gurs, and bought the books. The woman, having delivered them and received her price, desired them carefully to be kept, then suddenly disappeared, and was never afterwards seen. The books were found to be the oracles of the Sibyl of Cumae, and soon began to be religiously respected at Rome. They were supposed to contain the fate of the Roman empire, and were kept in a stone chest below ground in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

9. *Haruspicumque responsis*—The Haruspices examined the victims and their entrails, after they were sacrificed, and from them, and also from the flame, smoke, and other circumstances attending the sacrifice, derived omens of futurity.

1. *Tertium illum Cornelium*—Among the Sibylline verses three K's were found, which it was supposed would be fatal to liberty. They were applied by the Romans to the three Cornelii, Cornelius Cinna, Cornelius Sylla, and Cornelius Lentulus.

2. *Cinnam*—During the civil wars between Marius and Sylla, L. Cornelius Cinna, a man rash in counsel, but resolute in action, was raised to the consulship, and had no sooner entered upon his office, than he began to entertain a design of overturning all the acts Sylla had passed. Being soon after deposed by the Senate from the dignity of consul, on account of illegal conduct, he left the city, raised an army in Italy, recalled Marius, who had been banished, made himself master of Rome, murdered the friends of Sylla, who was conducting the war in Asia against Mithridates, and whom he declared banished from the city, and for three successive years usurped the consulship, and associated with himself whom he pleased as colleagues. At the expiration of these years, Sylla made a peace with Mithridates, and came toward Rome; and, such were the number and importance of his victories, the splendor and riches of his army, and the greatness of his power, that when Cinna had raised troops to oppose him, they revolted from their general, and when he menaced them, slew him.

3. *Syllam*—The enmity between Marius and Sylla first arose from a dispute concerning the glory of terminating the Jugurthine war. The immediate cause of their hostile actions against each other was a law passed by P. Sulpicius, transferring the command of the Asiatick expedition against Mithridates from Sylla to Marius. The law was passed illegally: Sylla who was but a short distance from Rome, immediately returned, and procured the banishment of Marius and the death of Sulpicius. He then successfully conducted the Asiatick war. In his absence, the Marian faction under Cinna again took command of the city: Marius was recalled, Sylla was banished in

decimus annus post *virginum absolutionem*, post *Capitolii autem incensionem* vicesimus ; hanc autem Cethego cum caeteris controversiam fuisse dixerunt, quòd, cùm Lentulo et caeteris *Saturnalibus* caedem fieri, atque urbem incendi placeret, Cethego nimiùm id longum videretur.

V. Ac, ne longum sit, Quirites, tabellas proferri jussimus, quae a quoque dicebantur datae : primùm ostendimus Cethego signum ; cognovit ; nos *linum* incidimus : legimus ; erat scriptum ipsius manu, *Allobrogum Senatus et populo, sese quae eorum*

his turn, and his friends were murdered. After his peace with Mithridates, however, Sylla returned to the city in defiance of the orders of the Senate, and conquered his enemies. But, it is agreed, that no man ever made a more cruel use of victory. Marius had died while Sylla was in Asia ; none of his friends escaped, when the tyrant made himself master of Rome, usurped sovereign power, and became Perpetual Dictator. According to Valerius Maximus, above 4700 persons were proscribed and murdered. After passing a number of laws, and retaining his despotick authority for four years, Sylla at length abdicated the Dictatorship, and the next year died of a distemper, called the *Lousy Disease*. A few days before his death, he composed his epitaph, the substance of which was, *no man had ever outdone him, either in obliging his friends, or in avenging himself on his enemies*.

4. *Virginum absolutionem*—The violation of the chastity of a Vestal was thought in Rome to forebode some great calamity to the state. Fabia, a sister of Terentia, who was the wife of Cicero, had a few years before been guilty of this crime, but, through the influence of her friends, was absolved.

5. *Capitolii autem incensionem*—In the 670th year of Rome, the Capitol was burnt through the carelessness of its keepers ; this circumstance also was supposed to portend some great evil.

6. *Saturnalibus*—*Saturnalia*, or the feasts of Saturn, were celebrated on the seventeenth of December. At this time, friends sent presents to one another, masters treated their slaves upon an equal footing, and all orders in the city were devoted to mirth and feasting.

7. *Linum incidimus*—The Romans in the time of Cicero folded their letters in the form of a little book, tied them round with a thread, covered the knot with wax, or with a kind of chalk, and sealed them with their rings.

legatis confirmasset, esse facturum ; orare, ut item illi facerent, quae sibi legati eorum praecepissent. Tum Cethegus, qui paulò antè aliquid tamen de gladiis ac sicis, quae apud ipsum erant deprehensae, respondisset dixissetque se semper bonorum ferramentorum studiosum fuisse, recitatis literis debilitatus atque abjectus, conscientia convictus repente conticuit. Introductus Statilius cognovit et signum et manum suam ; recitatae sunt tabellae in eodem ferè sententiam : confessus est ; tum ostendi tabellas Lentulo, et quaesivi cognosceretne signum ; annuit ; est verò, inquam, signum quidem notum, ⁸imago avi tui, clarissimi viri, qui amavit unicè patriam, et cives suos ; quae quidem te a tanto scelere etiam muta revocare debuit. Leguntur eadem ratione ad Senatum Allobrogum populumque literae ; si quid de his rebus dicere vellet, feci potestatem. Atque ille quidem primò negavit : post autem aliquantò, toto indicio exposito atque edito, ⁹surrexit : ¹quaesivit a Gallis, quid sibi esset cum iis, quamobrem domum suam venissent : itemque a Vulturcio ; qui cùm illi breviter constantèrque respondissent, ²per quem ad eum,

8. *Imago avi tui*—It was usual among the Romans to have the head of some great man engraved upon their rings. P. Lentulus, the grandfather of the conspirator, had borne the title of *Prince of the Senate*, and was the most active in the pursuit and destruction of Caius Gracchus, in which he received a dangerous wound.

9. *Surrexit*—Lentulus sat, because he was a Senator. He had once been expelled the Senate by the Censors for the notorious infamy of his life, but, by obtaining the Praetorship a second time, which office he now held, he recovered his former place and rank in that supreme council.

1. *Quaesivit a Gallis.....a Vulturcio*—He asked the Gauls and Vulturcius this question, because he thought they would not betray him.

2. *Per quem*—Umbrenus.

quotiesque venissent; quaesissentque ab eo, nihil-ne secum esset de fati Sibyllinis locutus: tum ille subito, scelere demens, quanta vis conscientiae esset, ostendit; nam cum id posset inficiari, repente praeter opinionem omnium confessus est: ita eum non modò ³ingenium illud, et dicendi exercitatio, quā semper valuit, sed etiam propter vim sceleris manifesti atque deprehensi, impudentia, quā superabat omnes, improbitasque defecit, ⁴Vulturcius verò subito proferri literas, atque aperiri jussit, quas sibi a Lentulo ad Catilinam datas esse dicebat. Atque ibi vehementissimè perturbatus Lentulus; tamen et signum et manum suam cognovit; erant autem scriptae sine nomine, sed ita: QUI SIM, EX EO, QUEM AD TE MISI, COGNOSCES. CURA UT VIR SIS, ET COGITA, QUEM IN LOCUM SIS PROGRESSUS: ET VIDE, QUID JAM TIBI SIT NECESSE. CURA UT OMNIUM TIBI AUXILIA ADJUNGAS, ETIAM INFIMORUM. Gabinius deinde introductus, cum primò impudentè respondere coepisset, ad extremum nihil ex iis, quae Galli insimulabant, negavit. Ac mihi quidem, Quirites, cum illa certissima sunt visa argumenta atque indicia sceleris, tabellae, signa, manus, denique, uniuscujusque confessio: tum multò illa certiora, color, oculi, vultus, taciturnitas; sic

3. *Ingenium*—Historians say of Lentulus, that, though his parts were but moderate, or rather slow, the comeliness of his person, the gracefulness and propriety of his action, the strength and sweetness of his voice, procured him some reputation as a speaker.

4. *Vulturcius.....jussit*—Impunity being promised Vulturcius, if he would faithfully inform the Senate of all the proceedings of the conspirators, he determined to make a full discovery.

enim obstupuerant, sic terram intuebantur, sic furtim nonnunquam inter se aspiciebant, ut non jam ab aliis indicari, sed indicare se ipsi viderentur.

VI. Indiciis expositis atque editis, Quirites, Senatum consului de summâ reipub. quid fieri placeret; dictae sunt a ⁵principibus acerrimae ac fortissimae sententiae, quas Senatus sine ullâ varietate est consecutus. Et quoniam nondum est perscriptum Senatusconsultum, ex memoriâ vobis, Quirites, quid Senatus censuerit, exponam. Primum mihi gratiae verbis amplissimis aguntur, quod virtute, consilio, prudentiâ meâ respub. periculis sit maximis liberata: deinde L. Flaccus et C. Pomptinus, Praetores, quod eorum operâ forti fidelique usus essem, meritò ac jure laudantur: atque etiam viro forti, collegae meo, ⁶C. Antonio laus impertitur, quod eos, qui hujus conjurationis participes fuissent, a suis et a reipub. consiliis removisset; atque ita censuerunt, ut P. Lentulus, cùm se ⁷Praeturâ abdicasset, tum ⁸in custodiam traderetur: itemque

5. *Principibus*—In consulting the senate the same order was not always observed; but usually the *princeps senatus* was first desired to deliver his opinion, unless when there were consuls elect, who were always asked first; and then the rest of the Senate according to their dignity; *Consulares, Praetorii, Aedilitii, Tribunitii, and Quae-*

6. *C. Antonio*—Antonius, before his election to the consulship, united his interests with Catiline in opposition to Cicero; but Cicero having carried his election, Antonius was given to him as a colleague, as he was preferable to Catiline. The first object of Cicero after he had entered upon his office was to gain Antonius' co-operation in his measures, and this he effected by bribing him with the government of Macedonia. This Antonius was an uncle of Mark Antony, the Triumvir.

7. *Praeturâ abdicasset*—No person in Rome could be brought to trial or punished, unless in a private station.

8. *In custodiam*—Criminals were often placed in the secret custody of private citizens, to prevent their being liberated by popular surrections in their favour.

utì C. Cethegus, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius, qui omnes praesentes erant, in custodiam traderentur : atque idem hoc decretum est in L. Cassium, qui sibi pro-
 curationem incendendae urbis depoposcerat : in M. Caeparium, cui ad sollicitandos pastores Apuliam esse attributam erat indicatum : in P. Furium, qui est ex his colonis, quos Faesulas L. Sylla deduxit : in Q. Magium Chilonem, qui unà cum hoc Furio semper erat in hâc Allobrogum sollicitatione versa-
 tus : in P. Umbrenum ¹libertinum hominem, a quo primùm Gallos ad Gabinium perductos esse constā-
 bat. Atque eâ lenitate Senatus est usus, Quirites, ut ex tantâ conjuratione, tantâque vi ac multitudine domesticorum hostium, novem hominum perditissi-
 morum poenâ, republ. conservatâ, reliquorum men-
 tes sanari posse arbitraretur. Atque etiam ¹suppli-
 catio diis immortalibus pro singulari eorum merito, meo nomine decreta est, Quirites : quod mihi pri-
 mùm post hanc urbem conditam togato contigit : et his decreta verbis est, QUOD URBEM INCEN-
 DIIS, CAEDE CIVES, ITALIAM BELLO LIBERASSEM. Quae supplicatio, si cum caeteris conferatur, Quirites, hoc interest, quòd caeterae ²be-

9. *Libertinum hominem*—In Rome slaves made free were called *liberti* and *libertini* : *liberti* in relation to their masters, *libertini* in relation to free born citizens. Some think that *libertini* were the sons of the *liberti* ; but this distinction never occurs in the classicks : on the contrary, both words are applied to the same persons by writers who flourished at different times.

1. *Supplicatio.....mihi.....togato*—When a general had obtained a signal victory, a thanksgiving (*supplicatio*) was decreed by the senate to be made in all the temples. This honor, which was decreed to Cicero, was never conferred on any other person in his robe of peace (*togatus*).

2. *Bene gestâ*—A thanksgiving had been decreed to others for promoting the interest of the republick, to Cicero alone for having preserved it.

nè gestâ, haec una conservatâ repub. constituta est. Atque illud, quod faciendum primùm fuit, factum atque transactum est; nam P. Lentulus, quanquam patefactus indiciis, et confessionibus suis, iudicio Senatûs, non modò Praetoris jus, verùm etiam civis amiserat; tamen ³ magistratu se abdicavit: ut ⁴ quae religio C. Mario, clarissimo viro, non fuerat, quò minùs C. Glauciam, de quo nihil nominatim erat decretum, Praetorem occideret, eâ nos religione, in privato P. Lentulo puniendo liberaremur.

VII. Nunc, quoniam, Quirites, sceleratissimi periculosissimique belli nefarios duces captos jam, et comprehensos tenetis; existimare debetis, omnes Catilinae copias, omnes spes, atque opes, his depulsis urbis periculis, concidisse. Quem quidem ego cùm ex urbe pellebam, hoc providebam animo, Quirites, remoto Catilinâ, nec mihi esse ⁵ P. Lentuli somnum, nec L. Cassii adipem, nec C. Cethegi furiosam temeritatem pertimescendam. ⁶ Ille erat unus timendus ex his omnibus, sed tamdiu, dum moenibus urbis continebatur; omnia nôrat: omnium aditus tenebat: appellare, tentare, sollicitare poterat, audebat: erat ei consilium ad

3. *Magistratu se abdicavit*—Plutarch says of Lentulus, that in the middle of the Senate he threw off his purple robe, and assumed one indicative of his circumstances.

4. *Quae religio*—See Note 1st, page 8th. The meaning of this passage is—"that we may be free from that scruple in punishing P. Lentulus, a private man, which scruple was disregarded by C. Marius, an illustrious citizen, when he put to death C. Glaucia the Praetor, against whom nothing was expressly decreed."

5. *P. Lentuli somnum*—The character given of Lentulus is, that he was lazy, luxurious, and profligately wicked, yet so vain and ambitious, as to expect from the overthrow of the government to be the first man in the republick.

6. *Ille*—Catiline.

facinus aptum : consilio autem neque lingua, neque manus deerat ; jam ad caeteras res conficiendas certos homines delectos ac descriptos habebat : neque verò cùm aliquid mandaverat, confectum putabat : nihil erat quod non ipse obiret, occurreret, vigilaret, laboraret : frigus, sitim, famem ferre poterat. Hunc ego hominem tam acrem, tam paratum, tam audacem, tam callidum, tam in scelere vigilantem, tam in perditis rebus diligentem, nisi ex domesticis insidiis in castrense latrocinium compulsem (dicam id, quod sentio, Quirites,) non facilè hanc tantam molem mali a cervicibus vestris depulissem : non ille vobis Saturnalia constituisset, neque tantò antè exitium, ac fati diem reipub. denunciâsset ; neque commisisset, ut signum, ut literae suae, testes denique manifesti sceleris deprehenderentur ; quae nunc, illo absente, sic gesta sunt, ut nullum in privatâ domo furtum unquam sit tam palàm inventum, quàm haec tanta in reipub. conjuratio manifestò inventa atque deprehensa est. Quòd si Catilina in urbe ad hanc diem remansisset ; quamquam quoad fuit, omnibus ejus consiliis occurri atque obstiti, tamen, ut levissimè dicam, dimicandum nobis cum illo fuisset : neque nos unquam, dum ille in urbe hostis fuisset, tantis periculis rempublicam tantâ pace, tanto otio, tanto silentio liberâssemus.

VIII. Quanquam haec omnia, Quirites, ita sunt a me administrata, ut deorum immortalium nutu atque consilio. et gesta et provisa esse videantur ; idque cum

7. *Saturnalia constituisset*—Notwithstanding the dissent of Cethegus, the feasts of Saturn were appointed by the conspirators as the days, on which they would burn the city and murder the citizens.

conjecturâ consequi possumus, quòd vix videtur humani consilii tantarum rerum gubernatio esse potuisse: tum verò ita praesentes his temporibus opem et auxilium nobis tulerunt, ut eos penè oculis videre possemus. Nam ut illa omittam, visas nocturno tempore ab Occidente ⁸faces, ardoremque coeli, ut fulminum jactus, ut terrae motus, caeteraque, quae tam multa, nobis consulibus, facta sunt, ut haec, quae nunc fiunt, ⁹canere dii immortales viderentur; hoc certè, Quirites, quod sum dicturus, neque praetermittendum, neque relinquendum est. Nam profectò memoriâ tenetis, Cottâ et Torquato Coss. complures in Capitolio turres de coelo esse percussas, cùm et simulacra deorum immortalium depulsa sunt, et statuæ veterum hominum dejectae, et legum aera liquefacta. Tactus est etiam ille, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulus; ¹quem inauratum in Capitolio parvum atque lactantem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem fuisse meministis. Quo quidem tempore, cùm ²haruspices ex totâ Etruriâ convenissent, caedes atque incendia, et legum interitum, et bellum civile ac domesticum, et totius urbis atque imperii occasum appropinquare dixerunt, nisi dii immortales omni ratione placati suo numine propè fata ipsa flexissent. Itaque ex illorum responsis tunc et ludi decem per

8. *Faces*—Several meteors appeared at this time.

9. *Canere*—Signifies in this place *to forebode*.

1. *Quem inauratum*—There was a gilded statue of Romulus in the Capitol, which represented him as an infant sucking at the dugs of a female wolf. This statue, it is said, is still preserved in the modern Capitol at Rome, with the mark of the lightning visible upon it.

2. *Haruspices.....Etruriâ*—The Tuscan soothsayers were the most celebrated for their skill.

dies facti sunt, neque res ulla, quae ad placandum deos pertineret, praetermissa est; iidemque jusserunt ³simulacrum Jovis facere majus, et in excelso collocare, et contrà atque antè fuerat, ad Orientem convertere: ac se sperare dixerunt, si illud signum, quod videtis, solis ortum et forum curiamque conspiceret, fore, ut ea consilia quae clàm essent inìta contra salutem urbis atque imperii, illustrarentur, ut a S. P. Q. R. perspici possent. Atque illud ita collocandum Consules illi statuerunt; sed tanta fuit operis tarditas, ut neque a superioribus consulibus, neque a nobis ante hodiernum diem collocaretur.

IX. Hìc quis potest esse, Quirites, tam aversus a vero, tam praeceps, tam mente captus, qui neget haec omnia, quae videmus, praecipuèque hanc urbem, deorum immortalium nutu atque potestate administrari? Etenim cùm esset ita responsum, caedes, incendia, interitumque reipublicae comparari, et ea a perditis civibus; quae tum propter magnitudinem scelerum nonnullis incredibilia videbantur, ea non modò cogitata a nefariis civibus, verùm etiam suscepta esse sensistis. Illud verò non-ne ita praesens est, ut nutu Jovis Optimi Maximi factum esse videatur, ut, cùm hodierno die manè per forum meo jussu et conjurati et eorum indices in ⁴aedem Concordiae ducerentur

3. *Simulacrum Jovis*—The Tuscan soothsayers had reported, that, if a larger statue of Jupiter were made, and placed in a conspicuous situation, and in a posture contrary to that in which it had formerly stood, with its face toward the east, so that it could see at once the rising sun, the Forum, and the Senate house, the treasons of the conspirators would be amply discovered. The discovery was made, as it was fortunately predicted, the very day on which the statue was erected by Cicero, in the manner prescribed.

4. *Aedem Concordiae*—Cicero assembled the senate in the temple of Concord, when he communicated to them the detection of the conspirators.

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eo ipso tempore signum statueretur? quo collocato atque ad vos Senatumque converso, omnia et Senatūs et vos, quae erant contra salutem omnium cogitata, illustrata et patefacta vidistis. Quò etiam majore sunt isti odio supplicioque digni, quí non solùm vestris domiciliis atque tectis, sed etiam deorum templis atque delūbris sunt funestos ac nefarios ignes inferre conati: quibus ego si me restitisse dicam, nimum mihi sumam, et non sim ferendus: ille, ille Jupiter restitit: ille Capitolium, ille haec templa, ille hanc urbem, ille vos omnes salvos esse voluit. Diis ego immortalibus ducibus hanc mentem, Quirites, voluntatemque suscepi, atque ad haec tanta indicia pervēni. Jam verò illa Allobrogum sollicitatio, sic a Lentulo caeterisque domesticis hostibus, tanta res, tam dementèr credita et ignotis et barbaris, commissaque literae nunquam essent profectò, nisi a diis immortalibus huic tantae audaciae consilium esset ereptum. Quid verò? ut homines Galli ex civitate malè pacatā, quae gens una restat, quae populo Rom. bellum facere et posse et non nolle videatur, spem imperii et rerum amplissimarum ultrò sibi a patriciis hominibus oblātam negligerent, vestramque salutem suis opibus anteponerent: id non-ne divinitus factum esse putatis? praesertim qui nos non pugnando, sed tacendo superare potuerunt.

X. Quamobrem, Quirites, quoniam ad omnia pulvinaria supplicatio decreta est, celebratote illos dies cum conjugibus ac liberis vestris. Nam multi saepè honores diis immortalibus justī habiti sunt ac debiti, sed profectò justiores nunquam. Erepti enim estis

ex crudelissimo ac miserrimo interitu, et erepti sine caede, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione : togati, me uno togato duce et imperatore, vicistis. Etenim recordamini, Quirites, omnes civiles dissensiones, neque solùm eas, quas audistis, sed et has, quas vosmetipsi meministis et vidistis. ⁵L. Sylla P. Sulpicium oppressit ; ex urbe ejecit C. Marium ⁶custodem hujus urbis ; multosque fortes viros partim ejecit ex civitate, partim interemit ; ⁷Cn. Octavius Cos. armis ex urbe collegam suum expulit ; omnis hic locus acervis corporum et civium sanguine redundavit. Superavit postea Cinna cum Mario : tum verò, clarissimis viris interfectis, lumina civitatis extincta sunt. Ultus est hujus victoriae crudelitatem postea Sylla : nec dici quidem opus est, quantà diminutione civium, et quantà calamitate reipub. Dissensit ⁸M. Lepidus a clarissimo et fortissimo viro Q. Catulo ; attulit non tam ipsius interitus reipub. luctum, quàm caeterorum. Atque illae dissensiones erant hujusmodi, Quirites, quae non ad delendam, sed ad com-

5. *L. Sylla P. Sulpicium*—See note 3d, page 52nd.

6. *Custodem hujus urbis*—This appellation was bestowed on Marius on account of his victories over the Cimbri.

7. *Cn. Octavius*—Octavius was a friend of Sylla, and the colleague of Cinna, when the latter was expelled from Rome. See note 2nd, page 52nd. The *lumina extincta*, mentioned in the text, refer to the deaths of many great men, who were slain in the contests of these factions.

8. *M. Lepidus*—Lepidus and his colleague Catulus at first had a warm dispute about the funeral of Sylla : afterwards Lepidus, to acquire distinction and power, placed himself at the head of the Marian faction, which still remained, and made some attempts to abolish the laws and institutions of Sylla ; but, being opposed by Catulus, he raised forces in Etruria, was declared a publick enemy, and, after some ill success, died of a disorder, which became mortal through the grief he experienced on account of the incontinency of his wife, whom he affectionately loved.

mutandam rempub. pertinerent ; non illi nullam esse rempub. sed in eâ, quae esset, se esse principes ; neque hanc urbem conflagrare, sed se in hac urbe florere, voluerunt. Atque illae tamen omnes dissensiones, quarum nulla exitium reipub. quaesivit, ejusmodi fuerunt, ut non reconciliatione concordiae, sed internecione civium ⁹dijudicatae sint. In hoc autem uno post hominum memoriam maximo crudelissimoque bello (quale bellum nulla unquam barbaria cum suâ gente gessit ; quo in bello lex haec fuit a Lentulo, Catilinâ, Cassio, Cethego constituta, ut omnes qui salvâ urbe salvî esse possent, in hostium numero ducerentur) itâ me gessi, Quirites, ut omnes salvi conservaremini ; et cùm hostes vestri tantum civium superfuturum putâssent, quantum infinitae caedi restitisset : tantum autem urbis, quantum flamma obire non potuisset : et urbem et cives integros incolumesque servavi.

XI. Quibus pro tantis rebus, Quirites, nullum ego a vobis praemium virtutis, nullum insigne honoris, nullum monumentum laudis postulo, praeterquam hujus diei memoriam sempiternam. In animis ego vestris omnes triumphos meos, omnia ornamenta honoris, monumenta gloriae, laudis insignia, condi et collocari volo ; nihil me ¹mutum potest delectare, nihil tacitum, nihil denique hujusmodi, quod etiam minùs digni assequi possint. Memoriam vestram, Quirites, nostrae res alentur, sermonibus crescent, literarum monumentis inveterascent et corroborabuntur : ean-

9. *Dijudicatae sint*—Were terminated.

1. *Mutum.....tacitum*—The former of these words refers to statues, &c. the latter to triumphs and similar ceremonies.

demque diem intelligo, quam spero aeternam fore, et ad salutem urbis, et ad memoriam consulatûs mei propagatam : unoque tempore in hâc republicâ ²duos cives existitisse, quorum alter fines vestri imperii, non terrae, sed coeli regionibus terminaret ; alter ejusdem imperii domicilium sedemque servaret.

XII. Sed quoniam earum rerum, quas ego gessi, non est eadem fortuna atque conditio, quae illorum, qui externa bella gesserunt : quòd mihi vivendum sit cum illis, quos vici ac subegi : isti hostes aut interfectos aut oppressos reliquērunt : vestrûm est, Quirites, si caeteris recta sua facta prosunt, mihi mea ne quando obsint, providere ; mentes enim hominum audacissimorum sceleratae ac nefariae ne vobis nocere possent ego providi : ne mihi noceant, vestrûm est providere. Quanquam, Quirites, mihi quidem ipsi nihil jam ab istis noceri potest ; magnum enim est in bonis praesidium, quod mihi in perpetuum comparatum est : magna in republicâ dignitas, quae me semper tacita defendet ; magna vis est conscientiae, quam qui negligent, cùm me violare volent, se ipsi indicabunt. Est etiam in nobis is animus, Quirites, ut non modò nullius audaciae cedamus, sed etiam omnes improbos ultrò semper lacessamus. Quòd si omnis impetus domesticorum hostium depulsus a vobis se in me unum converterit ; vobis erit providendum, Quirites, quâ conditione posthàc eos esse velitis, qui se pro salute vestrà obtulerint invidiae periculisque

2. *Duos cives*—Pompey the Great and Cicero. Pompey about this time had successfully conducted the Mithridatick war, and war off the Pirates.

omnibus. Mihi quidem ipsi quid est, quod jam ad vitae fructum possit acquiri, praesertim cùm neque in honore vestro, neque in gloriâ virtutis ³quidquam videam altius, quò quidem mihi libeat ascendere? Illud perficiam profectò, Quirites, ut ea, quae gessi in consulatu, privatus tuear atque ornem: ut, siqua est invidia in conservandâ republicâ suscepta, laedat invidos, mihi valeat ad gloriam. Denique ita me in republicâ tractabo, ut meminerim semper quae gesserim, curemque ut ea virtute, non casu, gesta esse videantur. Vos, Quirites, quoniam jam nox est, veneramini illum Jovem, custodem hujus urbis ac vestrûm; atque in vestra tecta discedite; et ea, quanquam jam periculum est depulsum, tamen, aequè ac priori nocte, custodiis vigiliisque defendite. Id ne vobis diutiùs faciendum sit, atque ut in perpetuâ pace esse possitis, providebo, Quirites.

3. *Quidquam.....altius*—The Consulship was the highest dignity in the state.

ORATIO IV. IN L. CATILINAM.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Senate, the next day after that in which the Consul had communicated the detection of the conspirators, ordered publick rewards to be given to the deputies of the Gauls and to Vulturcius, for their discoveries; but in the mean time the city being alarmed by reports of new plots, formed by the slaves and partisans of Lentulus and Cethegus for their rescue, Cicero resolved to terminate the affair as soon as possible, and therefore on the day succeeding summoned the Senate to determine the question concerning the punishment, which should be inflicted upon the prisoners. The opinion of Silanus, the consul elect, was first given: he thought that those of the conspirators, who were already committed to custody, men who had confessed themselves guilty of treason against the republick, and others, who were engaged in the conspiracy and who might afterwards be taken, should be put to death. In this advice many of the Senators, who spoke after him, concurred, till the opinion of Julius Caesar, then Praetorelect, was asked. Caesar, who was by many suspected of having encouraged and promoted the designs of the conspirators, was mild in his sentence; but such was his art, that he shrouded his misplaced clemency under the mantle of rigid justice. He said, if the prisoners deserved the most severe punishment, as it was observed, he dissented from the opinion, which had been advanced. Death, he thought, was not designed by the immortal gods as a punishment, but either as a necessary law of nature, or a cessation of toils and misery; it was his opinion, that bonds and perpetual imprisonment were contrived for the punishment of the most detestable crimes, and he therefore advised, that the estates of the criminals should be confiscated, that their persons should be closely confined in the strongest of the municipal towns, and that it should be unlawful for any one hereafter to move the Senate or People in their favour. His elegant and eloquent speech made a great impression upon his auditors; it is said, even Silanus altered his opinion, and that the friends of Cicero, solicitous for his safety, which, they thought, would be secured by mild measures, readily concurred in Caesar's advice. Cicero, however, perceiving the opinions of the Senators to be changing, rose and delivered the following oration, the tendency of which, although it had the semblance of neutrality, strongly supported the counsel of Silanus.

VIDEO, P. C. in me omnium vestrûm ora atque oculos esse conversos : video vos non solûm de vestro ac reipublicae, verûm etiam, si id depulsum sit, de meo periculo esse sollicitos. Est mihi jucunda in malis, et grata in dolore, vestra erga me voluntas : sed eam, per deos immortales, quaeso, deponite ; atque obliti salutis meae, de vobis ac de liberis vestris cogitate. Mihi quidem si haec conditio consulatûs data est, ut omnes acerbitates, omnes dolores cruciatuque perferrem ; feram non solûm fortitèr, sed etiam libentèr, dummodo meis laboribus vobis populoque Romano dignitas salusque pariat. Ego sum ille Consul, P. C. cui non ¹forum, in quo omnis aequitas continetur ; non ²campus consularibus auspiciis consecratus ; non ³curia, summum auxilium omnium gentium ; non ⁴domus, ⁵commune perfugium ;

1. *Forum*—The *Forum* was a large oblong open space between the Capitoline and Palatine hills, where the assemblies of the people were held, where justice was administered, and publick business transacted. Cicero had frequently been in danger in the *Forum* from the designs of Catiline.

2. *Campus*—The *Campus Martius* was a large plain along the Tiber, consecrated to Mars. On this plain the *Comitia Centuriata* were held for creating Consuls, Praetors, Censors, and other Magistrates ; and in this place also Catiline several times attempted to put Cicero to death.

3. *Curia*—*Curiae* were buildings in which the Senate assembled. In the senate house likewise Catiline had threatened the life of Cicero.

4. *Domus..... lectus*—These words refer to the attempt, which the two knights, mentioned in the first oration, made to kill Cicero in his bed.

5. *Domus, commune perfugium*—It was unlawful, according to the Twelve Tables, to force any person to court from his own house, because a man's house was esteemed his sanctuary. But if any person lurked at home to elude a prosecution, he was summoned three times, with an interval of ten days between each summons, by

non lectus, ad quietem datus ; non denique hæc sedes honoris, ⁶sella curulis, unquam vacua mortis periculo atque insidiis fuit. Ego multa tacui, multa pertuli, multa concessi, multa meo quodam dolore in vestro timore sanavi. Nunc si ⁷hunc exitum Consulatus mei dii immortales esse voluerunt, ut vos, P. C. populumque Romanum ex caede miserâ, conjuges liberosque vestros ⁸virginesque Vestales ex acerbissimâ vexatione ; ⁹templa atque delubra, hanc pulcherrimam patriam omnium nostrum ex foedissimâ flammâ ; totam Italiam ex bello et vastitate eriperem ; quaecunque mihi uni proponetur fortuna, subeatur. Etenim si P. Lentulus suum nomen, inductus a vatibus, fatale ad perniciem reipublicae fore putavit ; cur ego non laeter, meum consulatum ad salutem reipublicae propè fatalem exstitisse ?

the voice of a herald, or by letters, or by the edict of the Praetor ; and if he still did not appear, the prosecutor was put in possession of his effects.

6. *Sella curulis*—The Roman Consuls, Praetors, Censors, and chief Aediles, were called *MAGISTRATUS CURULES* from the name of the vehicles in which they used to ride, *CURRUS* ; and the seat, on which these magistrates sat in the Senate-house, the *Rostra*, or tribunal of justice, was called *SËLLA CURULIS*, because they carried it with them in their chariots.

7. *Hunc exitum Consulatus*—Cicero delivered this oration on the 5th of December, and, as *Decius Junius Silanus*, and *Lucius Licinius Muraena*, the Consuls elect, were to enter upon their office on the first of January, his consulship would soon expire.

8. *Virginesque Vestales*—These virgins were consecrated to the worship of *Vesta*, the goddess of fire. Their duties were to keep the sacred fire always burning, to keep the secret pledge of the empire, supposed to have been the *Palladium*, or *Penates* of the Roman people, and to perform constantly the sacred rites of the goddess. They wore a long white robe bordered with purple, and enjoyed singular privileges and honours. The Praetors and Consuls, when they met them in the street, lowered their *fusces*, and went out of the way to shew them respect.

9. *Templa atque delubra*—*Templa* were buildings, the situations of which were appointed, and which were consecrated, by the augurs ; *delubra* were buildings in which images of any gods were placed.

II. Quare, P. C. consulite vobis, prospicite patriae; conservate vos, conjuges, liberos, fortunasque vestras: populi Romani nomen salutemque defendite: ¹mihi parcere ac de me cogitare desinite. Nam primùm debeo sperare, omnes deos, qui huic urbi praesident, pro eo mihi, ac mereor, relatores gratiam esse; deinde, si quid obtigerit, aequo animo paratoque moriar; neque enim ²turpis mors forti viro potest accidere, neque immatura consulari, nec misera sapienti. Nec tamen ego sum ille ferreus, qui ³fratris carissimi atque amantissimi praesentis moerore non movear, horumque omnium lachrymis, a quibus me circumsessum videtis: neque meam mentem non domum saepè revocat ⁴exanimata uxor, abjecta metu ⁵filia, et parvulus ⁶filius, quem mihi videtur

1. *Mihi parcere*—In Rome every act of the senate or people was ascribed to the person, who summoned the assembly, as he presided in it and put the question; the odium of putting the conspirators to death would therefore fall upon Cicero, though the Senate voted it; he, however, tells them to cease their concern for him, and be regardful only of the publick interest.

2. *Turpis.....immatura.....misera*—A brave man would never die basely—a consular man could never die immaturesly; when he attained consular dignity, he attained the highest pitch of political elevation—a wise man would not die miserably; it was a doctrine of the philosophy of the Stoics, that he would not be unhappy in the most excruciating torments.

3. *Fratris*—Many of the relations and friends of Cicero were present, and greatly concerned in the issue of the debate: this brother was Quintus Cicero, a brave man and good soldier.

4. *Exanimata uxor*—Terentia, from the many attempts already made to kill Cicero, was in much fear, that he would finally be murdered.

5. *Filia*—Tullia, Cicero's daughter, was celebrated for her beauty, her manners, and her learning. She was first married to C. Calpurnius Piso, afterwards to Crassipedes, and lastly to Dolabella.

6. *Filius.....obsidem*—Men, who had children, were supposed to be more anxious for the publick safety, than those, who had no offspring. Cicero, therefore, says, that his son, who was named Marcus and was about a year old, was a kind of hostage in the hands of the republick, that gave the strongest assurance, that the father

amplecti respublica tanquam obsidem consulatûs mei ; neque ille, qui expectans hujus exitum diei adstat in conspectu meo ⁷gener. Moveor his rebus omnibus, sed in eam partem, ut salvi sint vobiscum omnes, etiam si vis aliqua me oppresserit, potiùs quàm, ut et illi et nos unà cum reipub. peste pereamus. Quare, P. C. incumbite ad reipub. salutem : circumspicite omnes procellas, quae impendent, nisi providetis ; non ⁸Tib. Gracchus, qui iterùm tribunus plebis fieri voluit : non C. Gracchus, qui agrarios concitare conatus est : non L. Saturninus, qui C. Memmium occidit, in discrimen aliquod atque in vestrae severitatis iudicium adducitur. Tenentur ii, qui ad urbis incendium, ad vestrûm omnium caedem, ad Catilinam accipiendum, Romae restiterunt ; tenentur literae, signa, manus, denique uniuscujusque confessio ; sollicitantur Allobroges : ⁹servitia excitantur : Catilina arcessitur : id est, initum consilium, ut, interfectis omnibus, nemo ne ad deplorandum quidem reipub. nomen, atque ad lamentandam tanti imperii calamitatem relinquatur.

III. Haec omnia indices detulerunt, rei confessi sunt, vos multis jam judiciis judicavistis : primùm, quòd mihi gratias egistis singularibus verbis, et meâ virtute atque diligentia perditorum hominum patefactam esse conjurationem decrevistis : deinde, quòd P. Lentulum, ut se abdicaret praeturâ, coegistis : tum,

would undertake nothing, but what he thought would promote the publick interest. Marcus, after the death of his father, attained the consulship under Augustus.

7. *Gener*—Piso, at this time the husband of Tullia.

8. *Tib. Gracchus*—See Note 5th, page 6th, note 9th, page 7th, and note 1st, page 8th.

9. *Servitia excitantur*—Slaves at first were rejected by the conspirators, but afterwards were invited to join the conspiracy.

quòd eum et caeteros, de quibus judicavistis, in custodiam dandos censuistis : maximèque, quòd meo nomine supplicationem decrevistis, qui honos togato habitus ante me est nemini : postremò, hesterno die praemia legatis Allobrogum Titoque Vulturcio dedistis amplissima : quae sunt omnia ejusmodi, ut ii, qui in custodiam nominatim dati sunt, sine ullâ dubitatione a vobis damnati esse videantur. Sed ego institui referre ad vos, P. C. tanquam integrum, et de facto, quid judicetis ; et de poenâ, quid censeatis ; illa praedicam, quae sunt consulis. Ego magnum in republicâ versari furorem, et nova quaedam misceri et concitari mala jampridem videbam : sed hanc tantam, tam exitiosam haberi conjurationem a civibus nunquam putavi. Nunc quicquid est, quòcunque vestrae mentes inclinant atque sententiae, statuendum vobis ¹ante noctem est. Quantum facinus ad nos delatum sit, videtis : huic si paucos putatis affines esse, vehementer erratis. Latius opinione disseminatum est hoc malum : manavit non solum per Italiam, verum etiam transcendit Alpes, et obscure serpens multas jam provincias occupavit. Id opprimi sustentando ac prolatando nullo pacto potest ; quàcunque ratione placet, celeriter vobis vindicandum est.

IV. Video duas adhuc esse sententias : unam D. Silani, qui censet eos, qui haec delere conati sunt, morte esse multandos : ²alteram C. Caesaris, qui

1. *Ante noctem*—This was necessary, because it was feared, that the friends of the conspirators would raise a tumult during the night and attempt to rescue them, and because no decree could be passed after sunset.

2. *Alteram C. Caesaris*—This mildness of Caesar, although it wore the appearance of severity, induced many to suspect, that he had se-

mortis poenam removet, caeterorum suppliciorum omnes acerbitates amplectitur. Uterque et pro suâ dignitate et pro rerum magnitudine in summâ severitate versatur. Alter eos, qui nos omnes, qui populum Romanum vitâ privare conati sunt, qui delere imperium, qui populi Romani nomen extinguere, punctum temporis frui vitâ et hoc communi spiritu non putat oportere : atque hoc genus poenae saepè in improbos cives in hâc repub. esse usurpatum recordatur. Alter intelligit, mortem a diis immortalibus non esse supplicii causâ constitutam, sed aut necessitatem naturae, aut laborum ac miseriârum quietem esse ; itaque eam sapientes nunquam inviti, fortes etiam saepè libentèr oppetiverunt ; vincula verò, et ea sempiterna, certè ad singularem poenam nefarii sceleris inventa sunt ; itaque municipiis dispertiri jubet. Habere videtur ista res iniquitatem, si imperare velis : difficultatem, si rogare ; decernatur tamen, si placet. Ego enim suscipiam, et, ut spero, reperiam, qui id, quod salutis omnium causâ statueritis, non putet suae dignitatis recusare. Adjungit gravem poenam municipibus, si quis eorum vincula ruperit ; horribiles custodias circumdat, et digna scelere hominum perditorum sancit ; ne quis eorum poenam, quos condemnat, aut per Senatum aut per populum levare possit ; eripit etiam spem, quae sola hominem in miseriis consolari solet ; bona praeterea publicari jubet ; vitam solam relinquit nefariis hominibus : quam

cretly encouraged the conspirators, and it was so unpopular at that time, that, it is said, the Knights would have killed him as he came out of the house, if he had not been protected by Cicero.

G.

si eripuisset, multas uno dolore animi ac corporis, et omnes scalarum poenas ademisset. Itaque, ut aliqua in vitâ formido improbis esset posita, apud inferos ejusmodi quaedam illi antiqui supplicia impiis constituta esse voluerunt; quòd videlicet intelligebant, his remotis, non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam.

V. Nunc, P. C. ego mea video quid intersit; si eritis secuti sententiam C. Caesaris, quoniam hanc is in republicâ viam, quæ popularis habetur, secutus est, fortasse minùs erunt, hoc auctore et cognitore hujusce sententiae, mihi populares impetus pertimescendi: sin illam alteram secuti eritis, nescio an amplius mihi negotii contrahatur: sed tamen meorum periculorum rationes utilitas reipublicae vincat. Habemus enim a C. Caesare, sicut ipsius dignitas et Majorum ejus amplitudo postulabat, sententiam ³tanquam obsidem perpetuae in rempublicam voluntatis; intellectum est, quid intersit inter lenitatem ⁴concionatorum et animum verè popularem, saluti populi consulentem. Video de istis, qui se populares haberi volunt, ⁵abesse non neminem, ne de capite videlicet civium Romanorum sententiam ferat: is et nudius tertius in custodiam cives Romanos Cethegum et P. Lentulum dedit, et supplicationem mihi decrevit,

3. *Tanquam obsidem*—Cicero, knowing the suspicions entertained of Caesar, construes his opinion as given from a conviction of its utility, justice, and severity.

4. *Concionatorum*—Turbulent speakers and seditious Tribunes.

5. *Abesse non neminem*—This passage alludes to the folly of some one, who, desirous of being popular, absented himself from the Senate, that he might not be guilty of the unpopular act of voting the death of any Roman citizen. With the conduct of this person, whose name history has not transmitted to us, Cicero contrasts that of Caesar, who was a great favourite of the people, and by implication asserts, that the best means of attaining popularity is the undeviating pursuit of the publick interest.

et indices hesterno die maximis praemiis affecit. Jam Hoc nemini dubium est, qui reo custodiam, quaesitori gratulationem, indici praemium decrevit, quid de totâ re et causâ judicârit. At verò C. Caesar intelligit, *legem Semproniam esse de civibus Romanis constitutam: qui autem reipub. sit hostis, eum civem esse nullo modo posse: denique ipsum †latorem legis Semproniae, jussu populi poenas reip. dependisse: idem etiam ipsum Lentulum largitorem et prodigum non putat, cùm de pernicië reip. et exitio hujus urbis tam acerbè tamque crudelitèr cogitârit, appellari posse popularem. Itaque homo mitissimus atque lenissimus non dubitat P. Lentulum aeternis tenebris vinculisque mandare: et sancit in posterum, ne quis hujus supplicio levando se jactare, et in pernicië reipub. posthàc popularis esse possit: adjungit etiam publicationem bonorum, ut omnes animi cruciatus et corporis, etiam egestas ac mendicitas consequatur.

VI. Quamobrem sive hoc statueritis; dederitis mihi comitem †ad concionem populo Romano carum atque jucundum: sive illam Silani sententiam sequi malueritis, facilè me atque vos a crudelitatis vituperatione defendetis: atque obtinebo, eam multò leviolem fuisse. Quanquam, P. C. quae potest esse in tanti sceleris immanitate puniendâ crudelitas? Ego enim de meo sensu judico. Nam ita mihi salvâ rep.

6. *Legem Semproniam*—A law of Caius Gracchus said, that sentence should not be passed upon the life of a Roman citizen, without the order of the people.

7. *Latorem legis*—See note 9th, page 7th.

8. *Ad concionem*—As it was in the power of the people to reverse any decree of the Senate, it was usual for the person, who proposed any extraordinary decree in the latter assembly, to defend it before the people.

vobiscum perfrui liceat, ut ego, quòd in hâc causâ vehementior sum, non atrocitate animi moveor, (quâ enim est me mitior ?) sed singulari quâdam humanitate et misericordiâ. Videor enim mihi hanc urbem vidēre, lucem orbis terrarum atque arcem omnium gentium, subito uno incendio concidentem : cerno animo sepultâ in patriâ miseros atque insepultos acervos civium : versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethēgi et furor, in vestrâ caede bacchantis. Cùm verò mihi proposui regnantem Lentulum, sicut ipse se ex fatiis sperâsse confessus est ; ⁹purpuratum esse hunc Gabinium : cum exercitu venisse Catilinam : tum lamentationem matrumfamiliâs, tum fugam virginum atque puerorum, ac vexationem virginum Vestalium perhorresco : et quia mihi vehementer hæc videntur misera atque miseranda, idcirco in eos, qui ea perficere voluerunt, me severum vehementemque praebeo. Etenim quaero, si quis paterfamiliâs, liberis suis a servo interfectis, uxore occisâ, incensâ domo, supplicium de servis quàm acerbissimum sumpserit, utrùm is clemens ac misericors, an inhumanus et crudelissimus, esse videatur ; mihi verò importunus ac ferreus, qui non dolore ac cruciatu nocentis suum dolorem cruciatumque lenierit. Sic nos in his hominibus, qui nos, qui conjuges, qui liberos nostros trucidare voluerunt ; qui singulas uniuscujusque nostrum domos et hoc universum reipublicae domicilium delere conati sunt ; ¹qui id egerunt, ut gentem Allo-

9. *Purpuratum*.....*Gabinium*—Magistrates in Rome wore a *toga* bordered with purple.

1. *Qui id egerunt*—It is said, this passage is exaggeration ; the conspirators promised the Allobrogiens an abatement only, or perhaps an abolition of their taxes.

brogum in vestigiis hujus urbis atque in cinere deflagrati imperii collocarent : si vehementissimi fuér-
 mus, misericordes habebimur : sin remissiores esse
 voluerimus, summae nobis crudelitatis in patriae civ-
 iumque pernicië fama subeunda est. Nisi verò cui-
 piam ²L. Caesar, vir fortissimus et amantissimus
 reipub. crudelior nudiustertius est visus, cùm sororis
 suae, foeminae lectissimae, virum praesentem et
 audientem vitâ privandum esse dixit ; cùm ³avum
 jussu Cos. interfectum, filiumque ejus impubèrem
 legatum a patre missum, in carcere necatum esse
 dixit. Quorum quod simile fuit factum ? quod ini-
 tum delendae reip. consilium ? Largitionis voluntas
 tum in republicâ versata est, et partium quaedam con-
 tentio. Atque illo tempore hujus avus Lentuli, clar-
 issimus vir, armatus Gracchum est persecutus, et
 grave tum vulnus accepit, ne quid de summâ digni-
 tate reipub. minueretur : hic ad evertenda fundamen-
 ta reip. Gallos arcessivit, servitia concitavit, Catili-
 nam evocavit, attribuit nos trucidandos Cethego, cae-
 teros cives interficiendos Gabinio, urbem inflamman-

2. *L. Caesar.....sororis.....virum*—The husband of Julia, the sister
 of L. Caesar, was Lentulus, the conspirator. L. Caesar was an un-
 cle of C. Julius Caesar, and grandson of M. Fulvius Flaccus, men-
 tioned in note 9th, page 7th. Julia was the mother of Mark Antony
 the triumvir, by a former marriage with Marcus Antonius Criticus ;
 and it is said by Plutarch, that the punishment of Lentulus was the
 source of the enmity, which existed between Mark Antony and
 Cicero.

3. *Avum.....filiumque ejus*—M. F. Flaccus, (See note 9th, page 7th.)
 whose youngest son, a beautiful youth, was sent, bearing a *caduceus*
 in his hand, to make proposals of peace to Opimius. The consul
 rejected them, and forbade the boy to come again, unless to signify
 the submission of those who sent him. Being ordered back by his
 father Fulvius with a second message, Opimius imprisoned and af-
 terwards put him to death.

dam Cassio, totam Italiam vastandam diripiendam-que Catilinae. Vereamini, censeo, ne in hoc scelere tam immani ac nefario nimis aliquid severè statuisset videamini : cùm multò magis sit verendum, ne remissione poenae crudeles magis in patriam, quàm ne severitate animadversionis nimis vehementes in acerbissimos hostes fuisse videamini.

VII. Sed quae exaudio, P. C. dissimulare non possum ; jactantur enim voces, quae perveniunt ad aures meas, eorum, qui verèri videntur, ut habeam satis praesidii ad ea, quae vos statueritis hodierno die, transigenda. Omnia provisa, parata, et constituta sunt, P. C. cùm meâ summâ curâ atque diligentia, tum multò etiam majore populi Romani ad summum imperium retinendum et ad communes fortunas conservandas voluntate. Omnes adsunt omnium ordinum homines, omnium denique aetatum : plenum est ⁴forum, plena templa circa forum, pleni omnes aditus ⁵hujus loci ac templi. Causa enim est post urbem conditam haec inventa sola, in quâ omnes sentirent unum atque idem, praeter eos, qui, cùm sibi viderent esse pereundum, cum omnibus potiùs, quàm soli perire voluèrunt ; hosce ego homines excipio et secerno libentèr ; neque enim in improborum civium, sed in acerbissimorum hostium numero habendos puto. Caeteri verò, dii immortales ! quâ frequentia, quo studio, quâ virtute ad communem dignitatem salutemque consenti-

4. *Forum*—This oration was delivered to the senate in the Forum.

5. *Hujus loci ac templi*—The Senate could not be held but in one of the *Curiae*. These *Curiae* were buildings consecrated as temples by the augurs, but not to any particular deity.

unt? Quid ego hîc ⁶equites Romanos commem-
orem? qui vobis ita summam ordinis consilii-
que concedunt, ut vobiscum de amore reipub. cer-
tent: quos ex multorum annorum ⁷dissensione ad
hujus ordinis societatem concordiamque revocatos,
hodiernus dies vobiscum atque haec causa conjungit;
quam conjunctionem si in ⁸consulatu confirmatam
meo, perpetuam in republicâ tenuerimus, confirmo
vobis, nullum posthâc malum civile ac domesticum ad
ullam reipub. partem esse venturum. Pari studio de-
fendendae reipub. convenisse video ⁹tribunos aerarios,

6. *Equites Romanos*—The order of Roman Knights had nothing in it analogous or similar to any order of modern Knighthood, but depended entirely upon a *census* or valuation of their estates, which was usually made every five years by the Censors in their *lustrum* or general review of the whole people. All those people, whose entire fortune amounted to 400 *sestertia* (3229*l.* sterling) were enrolled of course in the list of *Equites*. The badges of *Equites* were a horse given them by the publick, a golden ring, a narrow strip of purple sewed on the breast of their tunick, and a separate place at the publick spectacles.

7. *Dissensione*—The office of *Equites* at first was only to serve in the army; but afterwards also to act as judges, and to farm the publick revenues. Judges were chosen from the Senate, till the year of Rome 631, then the Sempronian law of C. Gracchus transferred the right of judging to the Knights. This law caused dissensions between the Senators and Knights for many years, during which, several laws alternately favourable to each party were passed. At length the Aurelian law of L. Aurelius Cotta, the Praetor, determined, that judges should be chosen from the Senators, the *Equites*, and the *Tribuni aerarii*, and laid the foundation of a reconciliation, which the influence of Cicero, which was great among both the Senators and Knights, completed.

8. *Consulatu confirmatam meo*—No man in Rome was so capable of uniting in the same cause the Senators and Knights as Cicero. He was at the head of the Senate, and being descended from a family of equestrian rank, was a favourite of the Knights. His policy in reconciling the two orders was of much service to the republick.

9. *Tribunos aerarios*—These were officers chosen from the plebeians, who kept and gave out the money for defraying the expences of the army.

fortissimos viros, ¹scribas item universos; quos cum casu hic dies ad aerarium frequentasset, video ²ab expectatione sortis ad communem salutem esse conversos. Omnis ingenuorum adest multitudo, etiam tenuissimorum. Quis est enim, cui non haec templa, aspectus urbis, possessio libertatis, lux denique haec ipsa, et hoc commune patriae solum, cum sit carum, tum verò dulce atque jucundum?

VIII. Operae pretium est, P. C. libertinorum hominum studia cognoscere, qui suâ virtute fortunam civitatis consecuti, hanc verè suam patriam esse judicant: quam quidam, hinc nati et summo nati loco, non patriam suam, sed urbem hostium esse judicaverunt. Sed quid ego hujusce ordinis homines commemorem, quos privatae fortunae, quos communis respublica, quos denique libertas ea, quae dulcissima est, ad salutem patriae defendendam excitavit? servus est nemo, qui modò tolerabili conditione sit servitutis, qui non audaciam civium perditorum perhorrescat; qui non obstare cupiat; qui non tantum, quantum audet et quantum potest, conferat ad communem salutem, voluntatis. Quare, si quem vestrûm fortè commovet hoc, quod auditum est, lenonem quendam Lentuli concursare circum tabernas, pretio

1. *Scribas*—*Scribae* were notaries or clerks, who wrote out the public accounts, the laws, and all the proceedings of the magistrates.

2. *Ab expectatione sortis*—The scribes were assembled on this occasion to divide among themselves the offices of the ensuing year, to decide who should be secretaries to the consuls, who to the praetors, &c. This was done every year, and, like other offices at Rome, determined by lot. While they were thus engaged, they saw the prisoners conducted to the senate house, and immediately leaving all their private concerns, came and offered their assistance to secure the safety of the republick.

sperantem sollicitari posse animos egentium atque imperitorum : est id quidem coeptum atque tentatum : sed nulli sunt inventi tam aut fortunâ miseri, aut voluntate perditi, qui non ipsum illum sellae atque operis, et quaestûs quotidiani locum, qui non cubile ac lectulum suum, qui denique non cursum hunc otiosum vitae suae saluum esse velint. Multò verò maxima pars eorum, qui in tabernis sunt, immo verò (id enim potius est dicendum) genus hoc universum amantissimum est otii. Etenim omne eorum instrumentum, omnis opera ac quaestus frequentiam civium sustinetur, alitur otio : quorum si quaestus, oclusis tabernis, minui solet, quid tandem incensis futurum est ?

IX. Quae cum ita sint, P. C. vobis populi Rom. praesidia non desunt ; vos ne populo Rom. deesse videamini, providete. Habetis consulem ex plurimis periculis et insidiis atque ex mediâ morte, non ad vitam suam, sed ad salutem vestram reservatum : omnes ordines ad conservandam rempublicam mente, voluntate, studio, virtute, voce consentiunt : obsessa facibus et telis impiae conjurationis, vobis supplex manus tendit patria communis : vobis se, vobis vitam omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium, vobis aras ³ Penatum, vobis illum ⁴ ignem Vestae perpetuum ac sempiternum, vobis omnia deorum templa atque

3. *Penatum*—This word here means the guardian gods of the republic ; in other places it often means the household gods, who presided over families.

4. *Ignem Vestae*—It was one of the duties of the vestal virgins to keep the sacred fire always burning, watching it alternately in the night ; whoever allowed it to go out was scourged. This accident was always esteemed unlucky, and expiated by offering extraordinary sacrifices. The fire was lighted up again from the rays of the sun, in which manner it was renewed every year on the first of March, that day anciently being the beginning of the year.

delūbra, vobis muros atque urbis tecta commendat. Praeterea de vestrâ vitâ, de conjugum vestrarum ac liberorum animâ, de fortunis omnium, de sedibus, de focis vestris hodierno die vobis judicandum est. Habetis ducem memorem vestri, oblitum sui; quæ non semper facultas datur: habetis omnes ordines, omnes homines, universum populum Romanum, id quod in civili causâ hodierno die primum videmus, unum atque idem sentientem. Cogitate quantis laboribus fundatum imperium, quantâ virtute stabilitam libertatem, quantâ deorum benignitate auctas exaggeratasque fortunas una nox penè deleſcit. Id ne unquam posthâc non modò confici, sed ne cogitari quidem possit, vobis hodierno die providendum est. Atque hæc, non ut vos, qui mihi studio penè præcurritis, excitarem, locutus sum, sed ut mea vox, quæ debet esse in republicâ princeps, officio functa consulari videretur.

X. Nunc antequàm, P. C. ad sententiâ redeo, de me pauca dicam. Ego, quanta manus est conjuratorum, quam videtis esse permagnam, tantam me inimicorum multitudinem suscepisse video: sed eam esse judico turpem et infirmam, contemptam et abjectam. Quod si aliquando alicujus furore et scelere concitata manus ista plus valuerit, quàm vestra ac reipublicae dignitas, me tamen meorum factorum atque consiliorum nunquam, P. C. poenitebit. Etenim mors, quam illi mihi fortasse minitantur, omnibus

5. *Una nox*—The night of the feast of Saturn, the time appointed by the conspirators for the execution of their designs.

6. *Mea vox.....princeps*—The Consul was the most powerful officer of the republick.

est parata : vitæ tantam laudem, quanta vos me vestris decretis honestâstis, nemo est assecutus. Cæteris enim semper benè gestæ, mihi uni conservatæ reipublicæ gratulationem decrevistis. Sit ¹Scipio clarus, ille, cujus consilio atque virtute Hannibal in Africam redire atque ex Italiâ decedere coactus est : ornatur ²alter eximiâ laude Africanus, qui duas urbes huic imperio infestissimas, Carthaginem Numantiamque delevit : habeatur vir egregius ³L. Paulus ille, cujus currum rex potentissimus quondam et nobilissimus Perses honestavit : sit in æternâ gloriâ ¹Marius, qui bis Italiam obsidione et metu servitutis liberavit : anteponatur omnibus ²Pompeius, cujus res gestæ atque virtutes iisdem, quibus solis cursus, regionibus ac terminis continentur ; erit profectò inter horum laudes aliquid loci nostræ gloriæ : nisi fortè majus est, patefacere nobis provincias, quò exire possumus, quàm curare, ut etiam illi, qui absunt, habeant quò victores revertantur ; quanquam est uno loco conditio melior externæ victoriae, quàm domesti-

7. *Scipio*—Publius Scipio, who by his military success in Africa, obliged Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, to evacuate Italy, and afterwards conquered him in his own country, for which he was surnamed *Africanus*.

8. *Alter.....Africanus*—P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, the son of L. Aemilius Paulus, and adopted son of Scipio Africanus, made his first campaign in the 17th year of his age, and afterwards conquered and destroyed Carthage and Numantia ; for which he successively acquired the surnames, *Africanus* and *Numantinus*.

9. *L. Paulus*—L. Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedon, whose king, *Perses*, walked in chains before the chariot of the Roman general at his triumphal entry into Rome.

1. *Marius.....bis Italiam.....liberavit*—By his victories over the *Teutoni*, the *Ambrones*, and *Cimbri*. Marius was a citizen of *Arpinum*, the native place of Cicero.

2. *Pompeius*—Pompey the Great, of whom more is said in the Oration upon the Manilian Law.

cae: quòd hostes alienigenae aut oppressi serviunt, aut recepti beneficio se obligatos putant: qui autem ex numero civium dementiâ aliquâ depravati, hostes patriae semel esse coepērunt, eos, cū a perniciē rei-publicae repulēris, neque vi coercere, neque beneficio placare possis. Quare mihi cum perditis civibus aeternum bellum susceptum esse video: quod ego vestro bonorumque omnium auxilio, memoriâque tantorum periculorum, quae non modò in hoc populo, qui servatus est, sed etiā in omnium gentium sermonibus ac mentibus semper haerebit, a me atque a meis facilē propulsari posse confido. Neque ulla profectò tanta vis reperietur, quae conjunctionem vestram equitumque Romanorum et tantam conspirationem bonorum omnium perfringere et labefactare possit.

XI. Quae cū ita sint, patres conscripti, pro imperio, pro exercitu, pro provinciâ, quam neglexi, pro triumpho caeterisque laudis insignibus, quae sunt a me propter urbis vestraeque salutis custodiam repudiata, pro clientelis hospitibusque provincialibus, quae tamen urbanis opibus non minore labore tueor, quā comparo; pro his igitur omnibus rebus, et pro meis in vos singularibus studiis, proque hac, quam conspiciatis, ad conservandam rempublicam diligentia, nihil aliud a vobis, nisi hujus temporis totiusque mei consulatus memoriam postulo: quae dum erit vestris mentibus infixæ, firmissimo me muro septum esse arbitror. Quòd si meam spem vis improborum fefellerit atque superaverit, commendo vobis parvum meum filium; cui profectò satis erit praesidii non

solùm ad salutem, verùm etiam ad dignitatem, si ejus, qui haec omnia suo solus periculo conservaverit, illum esse filium meminēritis. Quapropter de summâ salute vestrâ populique Romani, P. C. de vestris conjugibus ac liberis; de aris ac focis; de ³fanis ac templis; de totius urbis tectis ac sedibus; de imperio, de libertate, de salute Italiae, deque universâ republicâ decernite diligenter, ut instituistis, ac fortiter. Habetis enim consulem, qui et ⁴parere vestris decretis non dubitet, et ea, quae statueritis, quoad vivet, defendere et per se ipsum praestare ⁵possit.

3. *Fanis*—*Fana* were chapels consecrated to inferior deities or demigods.

4. *Parere*.....*non dubitet*—These words imply a willingness to put the conspirators to death.

5. *Possit*—When Cicero had concluded, Cato rose, and, after praising Cicero, advocated his sentiments and the opinion of Silanus; and, concluding his speech, said, "My opinion therefore is, that, since the criminals have been convicted, both by testimony and their own confession, of a detestable treason against the republic, they should suffer the punishment of death according to the customs of our ancestors." A decree was then passed conformable to this opinion, and Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Caeparius were strangled in prison. Catiline and his forces were soon after slain by the army under the Consul, Antonius. Thus ended this dangerous conspiracy, for his conduct in suppressing which, Cicero was proclaimed FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.

H

ORATIO PRO LEGE MANILIA.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS celebrated oration, the first which Cicero delivered from the Rostra, was pronounced in the six hundred and eighty-seventh year of Rome, in the forty-first year of the Orator's age, and three years before the orations against Catiline. The Romans at that time were engaged in war with Mithridates, king of Pontus. This monarch, able, ambitious, warlike, and a second Hannibal in military talents, as well as in hatred to the Romans, disdained to submit to the commands of the Roman commissioners in Asia, which checked his enterprises; and in cool blood, ordered eighty thousand Roman citizens to be massacred in one day. Sylla, and, after him, Lucullus had been sent against this powerful prince; but, though they repeatedly defeated him, they had not entirely subdued him. The prevalence and oppressive administration of the Marian faction in Rome obliged the former General to make peace with Mithridates, and give him an opportunity to retrieve his affairs and make more vigorous opposition in future. Lucullus probably would have subjugated him, had not a mutiny in the Roman army existed, and had not the General's personal enemies in Rome persuaded the Senate to recall him. These unfortunate incidents enabled Mithridates to become master of the field; the Roman army was dissipated; the Roman General was removed; Glabrio, the Consul, who was sent to succeed Lucullus, was a man of inferior talents. At this time, Manilius, one of the Tribunes, proposed a law, that Pompey, who was then in Cilicia terminating the piratick war, should have the government of Asia added to his commission, with the command of the Mithridatick war, and of all the Roman armies in those parts. This law was much opposed by the Senate, who were unwilling to confer so extensive authority upon any individual, but was so popular with the people, of whom Pompey was a great favourite, that none except Catulus and Hortensius, who had both passed through the Consulship, dared to speak against it. It was defended by Servilius Isauricus and Caesar; Cicero also, at that time Praetor, most eloquently advocated it in the oration that ensues.

QUANQUAM mihi semper frequens conspectus vester multò jucundissimus ; hic autem ¹locus ad agendum amplissimus, ad dicendum ornatissimus est visus, Quirites, tamen hoc aditu laudis, qui semper ²optimo cuique maximè patuit, non mea me voluntas, sed meae vitae rationes ab ineunte aetate susceptae prohibuerunt. Nam, cùm antea per aetatem nondum hujus auctoritatem loci contingere auderem ; statuereque, nihil huc, nisi perfectum ingenio, elaboratum industriâ, afferri oportere ; omne meum tempus amicorum ³temporibus transmittendum putavi. Ita neque hic locus vacuus unquam fuit ab iis, qui vestram causam defenderent ; et meus labor in privatorum periculis ⁴castè integreque versatus, ex vestro judicio fructum est amplissimum consecutus. Nam, cùm propter dilationem comitiorum ⁵ter praetor pri-

1. *Locus.....amplissimus.....ornatissimus*—The people were assembled at this time in a part of the Forum, which was called Comitium, where the pulpit or tribunal stood, from which the orators used to harangue them ; it was afterwards called *ROSTRA*, because it was adorned with the beaks of the ships taken from the Antiates. In this place none spoke, except men of distinction and magistrates. A great proportion of the most important business of the republic was here transacted. The orations here delivered were much more polished and elegant, than those pronounced in the courts of the judges. Hence the epithets *amplissimus.....ornatissimus*.

2. *Optimo cuique patuit*—Magistrates were permitted to address the people from the *Rostra* ; the magistracies were open to every good man, who was desirous of election.

3. *Temporibus*—is often used by Cicero for *periculis*. In the early part of his life he advocated the causes of many of his friends.

4. *Castè integreque*—Cincius, a Tribune, in the year of the city 549, passed a law, that no one should take money or a present for pleading a cause.

5. *Ter praetor primus*—Comitia for electing magistrates and enacting laws were often dissolved by some person's taking the auspices, which deferred the meeting to another day. This was an expedient often used by those publick officers, who were opposed to

mus 'centuriis cunctis renunciatus sum, facilè intellexi, Quirites, et quid de me judicaretis, et quid aliis praescriberetis. Nunc cùm et auctoritatis in me tantum sit, quantum vos honoribus mandandum esse voluistis ; et ad agendum facultatis tantum, quantum homini vigilantì ex forensi usu propè quotidiani dicendi exercitatio potuit afferre ; certè, et si quid auctoritatis in me est, eà apud eos utor, qui eam mihi dederunt ; et si quid etiam dicendo consequi possum, iis ostendam potissimùm, (qui ei quoque rei fructum suo judicio tribuendum esse censuerunt.) Atque illud in primis mihi laetandum jure esse video, quòd in hac insolitâ mihi ex hoc loco ratione dicendi, causa talis oblata est, in quâ oratio nemini deesse potest. Dicendum est enim de Cn. Pompeii singulari eximîaque virtute : hujus autem orationis difficiliùs est exitum, quàm principium invenire. Itaque non mihi tam copia, quàm modus in dicendo quaerendus est.

II. Atque ut inde oratio mea proficiscatur, unde haec omnis causa ducitur ; bellum grave et periculosum vestris vectigalibus atque sociis a duobus poten-

a successful candidate or a popular law, to prevent the passing of the one or the election of the other. In the year in which Cicero offered himself candidate for the Praetorship, by the promulgation of several laws, to which the senate were much opposed, the *Comitia* were so often dissolved, that it was feared there would be no election. These disturbances, however, were the occasion of an unexpected honour to Cicero: in the three different assemblies convened for the choice of Praetors, two of which were dissolved without effect, he was declared every time the first Praetor by the suffrages of all the centuries.

6. *Centuriis cunctis*—The Praetors were chosen by the *Comitia centuriata*, as were also the Consuls and Censors ; inferior magistrates were chosen by the *Comitia tributa*. In the last mentioned assemblies, the majority of the votes in each tribe determined the general vote of the tribe, and a majority of tribes determined the election, in which the meanest citizen, therefore, was as influential

tissimis regibus infertur, ⁷Mithridate et Tigrane :
 quorum ⁸alter relictus, ⁹alter lacessitus, occasionem
 sibi ad occupandam Asiam oblātam esse arbitratur.
¹Equitibus Romanis, honestissimis viris, afferuntur
 ex Asiā quotidie literae, quorum magnae res aguntur,
 in vestris vectigalibus. exercendis occupatae ; qui ad
²me pro necessitudine, quae mihi est cum illo ordine,

as the most powerful ; but in the *Comitia centuriata*, instituted by the king, Servius Tullius, the balance of power was put into the hands of the affluent and noble. All the citizens were divided into 193 centuries, according to a valuation of their estates, and these centuries were, according to the same rule, reduced into six classes ; the first and richest class consisted of ninety-seven centuries, a majority of the whole number. If, therefore, the centuries of the first class agreed, the affair was decided ; the votes of the rest were of little importance.

7. *Mithridate et Tigrane*—Mithridates is considered by Cicero (*in Lucullo*) as a king, in point of talents, second only to Alexander the Great. He had expelled Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, and Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, from their respective kingdoms ; and, by the extent of his territories and the number of his alliances, became one of the most powerful enemies ever opposed to Rome. At the beginning of the Mithridatick war, in which Tigranes also, king of Armenia, became involved, that prince was the most powerful sovereign in Asia. He reduced the Parthians, subdued Mesopotamia, obliged the Arabians, called Scenitæ, to quit their deserts, and ruled the kingdom of Syria.

8. *Alter relictus*—A mutiny in the army of Lucullus prevented that General from improving the advantage he had acquired over Mithridates.

9. *Alter lacessitus*—Mithridates, being repeatedly defeated by Lucullus, retired to the court of Tigranes, his son-in-law. The Roman General demanded him of that king, and threatened war in case of refusal. Tigranes refused, and soon after was defeated and dispossessed of his capital, Tigranocerta. Provoked by his loss, he made great exertions to retrieve his affairs, and in consequence of the unfortunate sedition in the Roman camp, and of the recall of Lucullus, ravaged Cappadocia, and was carrying his depredations into other provinces.

1. *Equitibus Romanis*—The Roman revenues were farmed by the Knights, who were divided into several societies for this purpose. In Rome these farmers of the revenue were in much respect, but in the provinces they were often deservedly detested.

2. *Me pro necessitudine*—The family of Cicero was of equestrian rank, and he himself was the pride and ornament of that order.

causam reipublicae periculūque rerum suarum detulerunt: Bithyniae, quae nunc ³vestra provincia est, vicos exustos esse complureis: ⁴regnum Ariobarzānis, quod finitimum est vestris vectigalibus, totum esse in hostium potestate: ⁵Lucillum, magnis rebus gestis, ab eo bello discedere: ⁶huic qui successerit, non satis esse paratum ad tantum bellum administrandum: ⁷unum ab omnibus sociis et civibus ad id bellum imperatorem deposci atque expeti: eundem hunc unum ab hostibus metui, praeterea neminem. Causa quae sit, videtis: nunc, quid agendum sit, considerate. Primum mihi videtur de genere belli, deinde de magnitudine, tum de imperatore deligendo esse dicendum. Genus est enim ejusmodi, quod maximè vestros animos excitare atque inflammare debet: in quo agitur populi Romani gloria, quae vobis a Majoribus, cum magna in rebus omnibus, tum

3. *Vestra provincia*—Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having been expelled from his kingdom by Mithridates, was restored by Sylla. Afterwards, when he died, he made the Roman people the heir of his dominions, which, therefore, were reduced into the form of a Roman province. The allied Asiatick kings at this time committed many ravages in this newly acquired territory.

4. *Regnum Ariobarzania*—Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, was an ally of the Romans. He was three times expelled from his kingdom, was twice restored by Lucullus, and the third time by Pompey, after that general had conquered Mithridates and Tigranes.

5. *Lucillum.....discedere*—Many persons in Rome, envying the talents and success of Lucullus, endeavoured to persuade the people, that he had not pushed the war with vigour against either Mithridates or Tigranes, that he might furnish a pretext for his being continued in command. This circumstance, and the mutiny, excited in his camp by P. Clodius, an infamous man, who was dissatisfied, because more worthy men were exalted to posts of honour, while he was neglected, were the causes of the recall of Lucullus. His removal was founded upon misfortune, not demerit.

6. *Huic qui successerit*—Glabrio, the consul, a man of inferior talents, succeeded him.

7. *Unum*—Pompey, who was at this time terminating the piratick war.

summa in re militari tradita est : agitur salus sociorum atque amicorum, pro quâ multa Majores vestri magna et gravia bella gesserunt : aguntur certissima populi Romani vectigalia, et maxima ; quibus amissis, et pacis ornamenta et subsidia belli requirētis : aguntur bona multorum civium, quibus est a vobis et ab ⁸imperatoribus reipublicae consulendum.

III. Et quoniam semper ⁹appetentes gloriae praeter caeteras gentes atque avidi laudis fuistis, delenda est vobis illa macula, Mithridatico bello superiore suscepta, quae penitus jam insedit atque inveteravit in populi Romani nomine : quod is, qui uno die, totâ Asiâ, tot in civitatibus, uno nuncio, atque unâ literarum significatione cives Roman. necandos trucidandosque denotavit, non modò adhuc poenam nullam suo dignam scelere suscepit, sed ab illo tempore annum jam tertium et vicesimum regnat ; et ita regnat, ut se non Ponto neque Cappadociae latebris occultare velit : sed emergere e patrio regno, atque in vestris vectigalibus, hoc est, in Asiae luce versari. Etenim adhuc ita vestri cum illo rege contendērunt imperatores, ut ab illo insignia victoriae non victoriam reportârint. Triumphavit L. Sulla, triumphavit ¹L. Muraena de Mithridate, duo fortissimi viri et summi imperatores : sed ita triumphârunt, ut ille pulsus

8. *Imperatoribus*—This word, Merouille thinks, does not mean the Generals of the republick, but those concerned in its administrations.

9. *Appetentes gloriae*—Love of country and an ardent desire of martial glory were the ruling passions of the Romans in the early ages of the republick. Such had been their military success, that, to have permitted Mithridates to murder 80,000 Roman citizens with impunity, would have been an indelible disgrace to their character.

1. *L. Muraena*—Muraena was a Lieutenant under Sylla, in whose absence, he defeated the king of Pontus.

superatusque regnaret. Veruntamen illis imperatoribus laus est tribuenda, quod egerunt: venia danda, quod reliquerunt: propterea quod ab eo bello ²Sullam in Italiam respublica, Muraenam Sulla revocavit.

IV. Mithridates autem omne reliquum tempus non ad oblivionem veteris belli, sed ad comparisonem novi contulit: qui, posteaquam maximas aedificasset ornassetque ³classeis, exercitusque permagnos, quibuscumque ex gentibus potuisset, comparasset, et se ⁴Bosporanis, finitimis suis, bellum inferre simulasset; usque ⁵in Hispaniam legatos ⁶Ecbatanis misit ad ⁷eos duces, quibuscum tum bellum gerebamus: ut, cum ⁸duobus in locis disjunctissimis maximèque diversis, uno consilio, a binis hostium copiis bellum terræ marique gereretur, vos, ancipiti contentione distracti, de imperio dimicaretis. Sed tamen alterius partis periculum, Sertorianæ atque Hispaniensis, quæ

2. *Sullam*—The successes of the Marian faction induced Sylla to make peace with Mithridates, and lead his army to Rome. Sylla made one treaty with Mithridates, Muraena another; this therefore was the third Mithridatick war.

3. *Classcis*—The accusative plural anciently terminated in *eis*. This termination Cicero has very frequently used in this oration.

4. *Bosporanis*—The inhabitants of the Thracian Bosphorus, a country between the Palus Maeotis and Euxine sea.

5. *In Hispaniam legatos*—Mithridates had been persuaded by L. Fannius and L. Magius, two Roman fugitives, to send them ambassadors to Sertorius, the head of the Marian party, who successfully conducted a war in Spain against the partisans of Sylla, the Dictator, and had defeated many Roman Generals. Fannius and Magius compared Mithridates to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal, and said nothing could resist so great commanders.

6. *Ecbatanis*—Ecbatana was the capital of Media.

7. *Eos duces*—Of the Senators, who were proscribed by Sylla, and who had retired to the camp of Sertorius, the latter General had formed a Senate, and, imitating the government of the republick, out of his Senate chose his Quaestors, Lieutenants, and other military officers.

8. *Duobus in locis*—In Asia with Mithridates, and in Spain with Sertorius. Mithridates and Sertorius had confederated.

multò plus firmamenti ac robōris habebat, *Cn. Pompeii divino consilio ac singulari virtute depulsum est; in alterâ parte ita res a L. Lucullo summo viro est administrâta, ut initia illa gestarum rerum magna atque praeclara non felicitati ejus, sed ¹virtuti; haec autem extrema, quae nupèr acciderunt, non culpa, sed fortunae tribuenda esse videantur. Sed de Lucullo dicam alio loco, et ita dicam, Quirites, ut neque vera laus ei detracta oratione nostrâ, neque falsa afficta esse videatur. Sed pro vestri imperii dignitate atque gloriâ, quoniam is est exorsus orationis meae, vidēte, quem vobis animum suscipiendum putetis.

V. Majores vestri saepè, mercatoribus ac navicularioribus injuriosius tractatis, bella gesserunt: vos, tot civium Rom. millibus uno nuncio atque uno tempore necatis, quò tandem animo esse debētis? Legati quòd erant appellati superbius,)² Corinthum

9. *Cn. Pompeii divino consilio*—This seems to approach more to flattery than to truth. It is a well known fact, that by the *good fortune* only of Pompey, not by his *divino consilio ac singulari virtute*, the army of Sertorius was dispersed. The dispersion of his forces was the consequence of his death, and he was slain, not by means of the military talents of Pompey, which he easily baffled, but by the infamous conspiracy of his pretended friends, Perpenna and Antonius, who basely assassinated him at an entertainment, to which they had invited him. Cicero, it has been supposed, was induced by venal motives to extol Pompey in this oration; the defence, which he makes, will be considered at the close of it.

1. *Virtuti.....fortunae*—The success of Lucullus was to be attributed to his talents; the mutiny in his camp, the tales of calumny circulated concerning him, and the consequences of both, to his misfortune.

2. *Corinthum.....extinctum*—The Corinthians, having insulted the Roman commissioners, who had been sent into Greece to terminate the quarrels existing between the parties confederated by the Achaean league, were attacked by the Consul Memmius, and being defeated, abandoned their city, which the Roman General afterwards burned.

patres vestri, ³totius Graeciae lumen, extinctum esse voluerunt: vos eum regem inultum esse patiemini, qui ⁴legatum populi Rom. consularem, vinculis ac verberibus atque omni supplicio excruciatum necavit? Illi libertatem civium Rom. imminutam non tulerunt: vos vitam ereptam negligetis? Jus legationis verbo violatum illi persecuti sunt: vos legatum populi Rom. omni supplicio interfectum, inultum relinquetis? Videte, ne, ut illis pulcherrimum fuit tantam vobis imperii gloriam relinquere, sic vobis turpissimum sit, illud, quod accepistis, tueri et conservare non posse. Quid, quod salus sociorum summum in periculum ac discrimen vocatur? Regno expulsus est Ariobarzanes rex, socius populi Romani atque amicus: imminent duo reges toti Asiae, non solum vobis inimicissimi, sed etiam vestris sociis atque amicis: civitates autem omnes, cuncta Asia atque Graecia vestrum auxilium expectare propter periculi magnitudinem coguntur: imperatorem a vobis certum deposcere, cum praesertim vos ⁵alium miseritis, neque audent, neque se id facere summo sine periculo posse arbitrantur: vident et sentiunt

3. *Totius Graeciae lumen*—Corinth perhaps did not deserve so great praise; a sufficiently great compliment was paid to it, when it was called a second Athens.

4. *Legatum*—Mithridates seized Cappadocia contrary to the commands of the Roman Generals in Asia; they therefore declared war against him. Mithridates successively conquered each of them, and, supposing that Aquilius was the author of the war, mounted him upon an ass, and made him travel with the army through various parts of Asia, and frequently proclaim that he was Manius Aquilius, the Roman Proconsul. At last he caused him to be put to death at Pergamus, by pouring melted gold down his throat, in reproach of Roman avidity.

5. *Alium*—The Consul Glabrio.

hoc idem, quod et vos, ⁶unum virum esse, in quo summa sint omnia, et eum propè esse, (quo etiam carent aegriùs) cujus adventu ipso atque nomine, tametsi ille ad ⁷maritimum bellum venèrit, tamen impetus hostium repressos esse intelligunt, ac retardatos. Hi vos, quoniam ⁸liberè loqui non licet, tacitè rogant, ut se quoque, sicut caeterarum provinciarum socios, dignos existimetis, quorum salutem tali viro commendetis: atque hoc etiam magis quàm caeteros, quòd ejusmodi in provinciam homines cum imperio misimus, ut, etiam si ab hoste defendant, ⁹tamen ipsorum adventus in urbeis sociorum non multùm ab hostili expugnatione differant. Hunc audiebant antea, nunc praesentem vident, tantâ temperantiâ, tantâ mansuetudine, tantâ humanitate, ut ii beatissimi esse videantur, apud quos ille diutissimè commoratur.

VI. Quare, si ¹propter socios, nullâ ipsi injuriâ lacessiti, Majores vestri cum Antiocho, cum Philippo,

6. *Unum virum*—Pompey.

7. *Maritimum bellum*—The pirates of Cilicia had not only insulted the Romans frequently, but also had intercepted their provisions, and impeded Roman Generals. War was declared against them, and Pompey, being appointed to the command by the Gabinian law, which conferred upon him extensive authority, successfully terminated it. Mithridates had assisted the pirates, but the arrival of Pompey induced him to desert them.

8. *Libere loqui non licet*—Through fear of offending the Romans.

9. *Tamen ipsorum adventus*—Several Roman Generals had been guilty of great extortion.

1. *Propter socios*—The historical facts, to which Cicero refers, are; In the year of Rome 562, the Aetolians, having raised some commotions in Greece against the allies of Rome, and invited to their assistance Antiochus, king of Syria, were declared enemies of the republick, and were reduced to the necessity of begging a peace.—Ten years before this time, the Romans declared war against Philip, king of Macedon, because he had attacked the Athenians, the allies of the republick.—In the 489th year of Rome, some Italian soldiers, who were in possession of Messina, were attacked by the Carthaginians; they applied to Rome for assistance; the republick immediately declared war against their enemies.

cum Aetolis, cum Poenis bella gesserunt : quanto vos studio convēnit, injuriis provocatos, sociorum salutem unā cum imperii vestri dignitate defendere, praesertim cū de vestris maximis vectigalibus agatur ? Nam caeterarum provinciarum ² vectigalia, Quirites, tanta sunt, ut iis, ad ipsas provincias tutandas, vix contenti esse possimus : Asia verò tam opima est et fertilis, ut et ubertate agrorum, et varietate fructuum, et magnitudine pastionis, et multitudine earum rerum, quae exportantur, facilè omnibus terris antecellat. Itaque haec vobis provincia, Quirites, si ad belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem retinere vultis, non modò a calamitate, sed etiam a metu calamitatis, est defendenda. Nam, caeteris in rebus, cū venit calamitas, tum detrimentum accipitur : at in vectigalibus non solum adventus mali, sed etiam metus ipse affert calamitatem. Nam, cū hostium copiae non longè absunt, etiamsi irruptio facta nulla sit, tamen pecora relinquuntur, agricultura deseritur, mercatorum navigatio conquiescit. Ita neque ex portu, neque ex decumis, neque ex scripturā vectigal conservari potest ; quare saepè totius anni fructus uno rumore periculi atque uno belli terrore amittitur. Quo tandem animo esse existimatis aut eos, qui vectigalia vobis

2. *Vectigalia*—There were three kinds of tribute ; one imposed equally upon each person ; another according to the valuation of their estates ; and a third, which was extraordinary, and demanded only in cases of necessity. The other taxes were also of three kinds, *Portorium*, *Decumae* and *Scriptura*. *Portorium* was money paid at the ports for goods imported and exported ; *Decumae*, tithes, were the tenth part of corn, and the fifth part of other fruits, which were exacted from those, who tilled the publick lands, either in Italy or without it ; *Scriptura* was the tax paid from publick pastures and woods, so called, because those, who wished to feed their cattle there, subscribed their names before the farmer of it, and paid a certain sum for each beast.

pensitant, aut eos, qui exercent atque exigunt, cum duo reges cum maximis copiis propè adsint? cum una excursio equitatûs perbreui tempore totius anni vectigal auferre possit? cum ³publicani familias maximas, quas in ⁴salinis habent, quas in agris, quas in portubus atque custodiis, magno periculo se habere arbitrentur? Putatis-ne vos illis rebus frui posse, nisi eos, qui vobis fructui sunt, conservaveritis, non solùm (ut antè dixi) calamitate, sed etiam calamitatis formidine liberatos?

VII. Ac ne illud quidem vobis negligendum est, quod mihi ego extremum proposueram, cum essem de belli genere dicturus, quod ⁵ad multorum bonâ civium Romanorum pertinet: quorum vobis pro vestrà sapientiâ, Quirites, habenda est ratio diligentèr. Nam et publicani, homines et honestissimi et ornatis-
simi, suas rationes et copias in illam provinciam contulerunt: quorum ipsorum per se res et fortunæ curæ vobis esse debent: etenim, si vectigalia nervos esse reipublicæ semper duximus, eum certè ordinem, qui exercet illa, firmamentum caeterorum ordi-

3. *Publicani*—The taxes were let publicly by the Censors at Rome. Those who farmed them were called Publicani.

4. *In salinis*—There was for a long time a tax upon salt. In the second year after the expulsion of Tarquin, it was ordained, that salt should not be sold by private persons, but should be furnished at a lower rate by the publick. A new tax was imposed on salt in the second Punick war, but this tax was also dropped, although it is uncertain at what time. Instead of *salinis*, many editions have substituted *salictis*, the editors of which suppose, that, as we do not read that in any period of the Roman history the duty upon salt was imposed upon Asia or any other province, Cicero here refers to the pasture grounds, which abounded with groves of willows.

5. *Ad multorum bona civium*—The Knights, who were the farmers of the revenue, and many Roman citizens, who were concerned in mercantile negotiations, had much wealth in this province, of which the war might perhaps deprive them.

num rectè esse dicemus. Deindè caeteris ex ordinibus homines gnavi et industrii partim ipsi in Asiâ negotiantur, quibus vos absentibus consulere debetis ; partim suas et suorum in eâ provinciâ pecunias magnas collocatas habent. Erit igitur humanitatis vestrae, magnum eorum civium numerum calamitate prohibere ; sapientiae, videre, multorum civium calamitatem a republicâ sejunctam esse non posse. Etenim illud primum parvi refert, vos publicanis amissa vectigalia postea victoriâ recuperare ; neque enim iisdem redimendi facultas erit propter calamitatem, neque aliis voluntas propter timorem. Deinde, quod nos eadem Asia atque idem iste Mithridates initio belli Asiatici docuit, id quidem certè calamitate docti memoriâ retinere debemus. Nam tum, cùm in Asiâ res magnas permulti amisērunt, scimus ⁶Romae, solutione impeditâ, fidem concidisse. Non enim possunt unâ in civitate multi rem atque fortunas amittere, ut non plureis secum in eandem calamitatem trahant. A quo periculo prohibete rempublicam ; et, mihi credite, id quod ipsi videtis, haec fides atque haec ratio pecuniarum, quae Romae, ⁷quae in foro versatur, implicita est cum illis pecuniis Asiaticis, et cohaeret ; ruere illa non possunt, ut haec non eodem labefactata motu concidant. Quare videte, num dubitandum vobis sit omni studio ad id bellum incumbere, in quo gloria

6. *Romae.....fidem concidisse*—In the murder of the Romans in Asia, which Mithridates had ordered in the beginning of the first Mithridatick war, many farmers of the revenue were killed, and their estates were confiscated. Their creditors in Rome, therefore, became unable to support their credit.

7. *Quae in foro versatur*—The Forum was surrounded with shops, which were chiefly occupied by bankers.

nominis vestri, salus sociorum, vectigalia maxima, fortunae plurimorum civium cum republicâ defenduntur.

VIII. Quoniam de genere belli dixi, nunc de magnitudine pauca dicam. Potest enim hoc dici, belli genus esse ita necessarium, ut sit gerendum : non esse ita magnum, ut sit pertimescendum : in quo maximè laborandum est, ne fortè a vobis, quae diligentissimè providenda sunt, contemnenda esse videantur. Atque, ut omnes intelligant, me L. Lucullo tantum impertiri laudis, quantum forti viro, sapientissimo homini, et magno imperitori debeatur ; dico, ejus adventu maximas Mithridatis ⁸copias omnibus rebus ornatas atque instructas fuisse, urbemque Asiae clarissimam nobisque amicissimam ⁹Cyzicenorum obsessam esse ab ipso rege maximâ multitudine, et oppugnatam vehementissimè : quam L. Lucullus virtute, assiduitate, consilio, summis obsidionis periculis liberavit : ab eodem imperatore ¹classem magnam et ornata, quae ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio inflammato raperetur, superatam esse atque depres-

8. *Copias*—According to Plutarch, in the army of Mithridates there were 120,000 foot and 16,000 horse.

9. *Cyzicenorum*—Cyzicum was an important city, and one of the keys of Asia. It was besieged by Mithridates, when Lucullus arrived ; by intercepting the provisions and conquering the detachments of the royal army, the Roman General obliged the king to raise the siege with great loss.

1. *Classem magnam*—Mithridates, not discouraged by his ill success, sent a fleet to support the revolt, which Spartacus had excited in Italy, and gave the command of it to two of his own officers, and M. Marius, whom Sertorius had sent to him with the title of Proconsul. Lucullus sailed in quest of this fleet, found it in the road of Lemnos, and destroyed the whole, thirty two ships of war and a great number of transports.

sam : magnas hostium præterea copias ² multis præliis esse deletas, patefactumque nostris legionibus esse ³ Pontum, qui antè populo Rom. ex omni aditu clausus esset : ⁴ Sinopen atque Amisum, quibus in oppidis erant domicilia regis, omnibus rebus ornata atque referta, caeterasque urbeis Ponti et ⁵ Cappadociae permultas uno aditu atque adventu esse captas : regem, spoliatum ⁶ regno patrio atque avito, ⁷ ad alios se reges atque alias gentes supplicem contulisse : atque haec omnia, salvis populi Romani sociis atque integris vectigalibus, esse gesta. Satis opinor hoc esse laudis ; atque ita reperto, ut hoc vos intelligatis, e nullo istorum, qui huic obtrectant legi atque causae, L. Lucillum similiter ex hoc loco esse laudatum.

IX. Requiretur fortasse nunc, quemadmodum, cum haec ita sint, reliquum possit esse magnum bellum ; cognoscite, Quirites : non enim sine causa quaeri videtur. Primum ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto ⁸ Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur : quam praedicant in fuga

2. *Multis praeliis*—At the River Rhyndacus, at the river Granicus, and at sea, in which engagements many of the forces of Mithridates were killed, and many taken prisoners.

3. *Pontum*—Lucillus invaded Pontus, and took most of its cities.

4. *Sinopen atque Amisum*—Sinope, the capital of Pontus, was a city on the borders of the Euxine Sea, and the birth place of Mithridates : Amisus was situated on the confines of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, 130 miles distant from Sinope.

5. *Cappadociae*—Mithridates, having expelled Nicomedes, king of Cappadocia, had taken possession of his kingdom.

6. *Regno patrio atque avito*—Mithridates, by right of his birth, reigned over Pontus and many nations in its vicinity.

7. *Ad alios se reges*—To Tigranes, his son in law, king of Armenia, and to the king of the Parthians.

8. *Medea*—Medea, daughter of the king of Colchis, having assisted Jason and the Argonauts in acquiring the Golden Fleece, fled

fratris sui membra in iis locis, quâ se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa moeror^{que} patrius celeritatem persequendi retardaret; sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas a Majoribus acceperat, et ipse bello superiore ex totâ Asiâ direptas in suum regnum congegserat, in Ponto omnem reliquit; haec dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse e manibus effugit; ita illum in persequendi studio moeror, hos laetitia retardavit. Hunc in illo timore et fugâ Tigranes, rex Armenius, excēpit; diffidentemque rebus suis confirmavit, afflictum erexit, perditumque recreavit; cujus in regnum posteaquam L. Lucullus cum exercitu venit, ⁹plures etiam gentes contra imperatorem nostrum concitatae sunt. Erat enim metus injectus iis nationibus, quas nunquam populus Romanus neque lacesendas bello neque tentandas putavit. Erat etiam alia gravis atque vehemens opinio, quae per animos gentium barbararum pervaserat, ¹fani locu-

with him, and fearing Aetis, her father, would overtake her, cut her brother Absyrtus in pieces, and strewed them in the way to check the pursuit. In a similar manner Mithridates, as Cicero says, scattered his treasures before the army of Lucullus, and was thus enabled to escape.

9. *Plures etiam gentes*—The army of Tigranes was composed of Armenians, Gordyaenians, Medes, Adiabeniens, led by their kings; Arabians from the country between Babylon and the Persian gulf; Albanians and Iberians from the coasts of the Caspian sea; and several free nations and Nomades (Tartars) from the neighbourhood of the Araxes. The forces of Tigranes consisted of 20,000 archers and slingers; 55,000 horse, seventeen thousand of which might be said to be cased in iron; 150,000 infantry, and 35,000 pioneers and other labourers. The Roman army, however, not a twentieth part of the number of the troops of the king of Armenia, conquered them, and took his capital, Tigranocerta.

I. *Fani locupletissimi*—Cicero refers to the *fanum Cumanum*, which was plundered by Muraena, Sylla's Lieutenant.

pletissimi et religiosissimi diripiendi causâ in eas oras nostrum exercitum esse adductum. Ita nationes multae atque magnae novo quodam terrore ac metu concitabantur. Noster autem exercitus, etsi urbem ex Tigranis regno cepêrat, et praeliis usus erat secundis, tamen ²nimiâ longinquitate locorum ac desiderio suorum commovebatur. ³Hic jam plura non dicam. Fuit enim illud extremum, ut ex iis locis a militibus nostris reditus magis maturus, quàm processio longior quaereretur. Mithridates autem et suam manum jam confirmârat, et eorum, qui se ex ejus regno collegerant, et magnis adventitiis ⁴multorum regum et nationum copiis juvabatur. Hoc jam ferè sic fieri solère accepimus, ut regum afflictæ fortunæ facilè multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam, maximèque eorum, qui aut reges sunt, aut vivunt in regno; quòd regale iis nomen magnum et sanctum esse videatur. Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis nunquam est ausus optare. Nam, cùm se in regnum recepisset suum, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei praeter spem

2. *Nimiâ longinquitate locorum*—After the taking of Tigranocerta, Lucullus intended to continue his march to Artaxata, the former capital of Armenia, but, as it was distant many days march to the north, and as the winter was advancing with snowy and tempestuous weather, the soldiers, fatigued by the severities of the campaign, refused to follow him. The mutiny in the army of Lucullus has been attributed to his pride and avarice: but, though those faults of the general may have produced bad consequences, the real cause of the sedition was the intrigues of the disappointed and infamous Clodius.

3. *Hic jam plura non dicam*—As the dispute concerning the merit and demerit of Lucullus was very warm in Rome between his friends and enemies, Cicero very prudently avoids offending either party.

4. *Multorum regum et nationum*—The kings and nations, who assisted Tigranes, gave assistance also to Mithridates, who at this time was collecting an army.

acciderat, ut eam, posteaquam pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret: sed in exercitum vestrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit. Sinite hoc loco, Quirites, (sicut poetae solent, qui res Romanas scribunt) praeterire me nostram calamitatem: quae tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures L. Luculli non ex praelio nuncius, sed ex sermone rumor afferret. Hic in ipso illo malo gravissimaeque belli offensione L. Lucullus, qui tamen aliquā ex parte iis incommodis mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, quod imperii diuturnitati modum statuendum veteri exemplo putavistis, partem militum, qui jam stipendiis confecti erant, dimisit, partem Glabrioni tradidit.

5. *Victorem impetum*—He defeated Fabius Adrianus in Pontus, whom Lucullus had left there, and afterwards routed the army of the rash Lieutenant, Triarius.

6. *Nostram calamitatem*—It was the rashness of Triarius, which caused this calamity. Flattered by the prospect of the glory he should acquire by conquering in the absence of his General, he fought with the king of Pontus, and was so totally defeated, that not one of his army would have escaped, had not Mithridates received a wound, which induced his Generals to check the pursuit. This was the most severe defeat, which the Romans experienced in all their wars against Mithridates: seven thousand Romans remained dead upon the field of battle. "Cicero," says a celebrated Roman historian, "was induced to say, that the Roman General received only from public rumour the news of Triarius' defeat, not from a regard to truth, but that he might flatter Pompey at the expense of Lucullus."

7. *Veteri exemplo*—These words, it has been said, were the semblance of patriotism, under which the enemies of Lucullus concealed their envy and malignity. It is acknowledged, that Lucullus had been seven years in command; but Pompey possessed military command for a longer time and with as great authority. If, therefore, the *vetus exemplum* required the removal of the former, it would certainly prohibit the elevation of the latter.

8. *Dimisit.....tradidit*—The calumniating tales of the enemies of Lucullus had such an effect upon the people, that they passed a decree, "that the oldest of his troops, especially the Fimbrian legions, should be discharged, and that he should be succeeded in the command of the war by Glabrio, the Consul.

Multa praeter^o consultò: sed ea vos conjecturâ perspicite, quantum illud bellum futurum putetis, quod conjungant reges potentissimi, renovent agitatae nationes, suscipiant integræ gentes, novus imperator vester accipiat, vetere expulso exercitu.,

X. Satis mihi multa verba fecisse videor, quare hoc bellum esset genere ipso necessarium, magnitudine periculosum. Restat, ut de imperatore ad illud bellum deligendo ac tantis rebus praeficiendo, dicendum esse videatur. Utinam, Quirites, virorum fortium atque innocentium copiam tantam haberetis, ut haec vobis deliberatio difficilis esset, quemnam potissimum tantis rebus ac tanto bello praeficiendum putaretis. Nunc verò, cum sit unus Cn. Pompeius, qui non modò eorum hominum, qui nunc sunt, gloriam, sed etiam antiquitatis memoriam virtute superârit; quae res est, quae cujusquam animum in hâc causâ dubium facere possit? Ego enim sic existimo, in summo imperatore quatuor has res inesse oportere, scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem. Quis igitur hoc homine scientior unquam aut fuit, aut esse debuit? qui e ludo atque pueritiae disciplinâ, bello maximo atque acerrimis hostibus, ⁹ad patris exercitum atque in militiae disciplinam profectus est: qui ¹extremâ pueritiâ miles fuit summi im-

9. *Ad patris exercitum*—His father was Cn. Pompeius Strabo, in whose army he served, when he was but seventeen years of age.

1. *Extremâ pueritiâ miles..... adolescentiâ.....imperator*—The age of man was divided into three parts by the Romans. They were *pueri* until they were seventeen years old; from that time to their forty-sixth year they were *juvenes*, afterwards they were *senes*. The youth of Pompey, when he first entered his father's army, has already been mentioned. At the age of twenty-three, before he was admitted into the Senate, he was appointed by Sylla to the command of an army, and sent into Celtiberia.

peratoris, incunte adolescentiâ maximi ipse exercitûs imperator : qui saepiùs cum ²hoste confligit, quàm quisquam cum inimico concertavit ; plura bella gessit, quàm caeteri legerunt ; plureis provincias confecit, quàm alii concupiverunt : cujus adolescentia ad scientiam rei militaris non alienis praeceptis, sed suis imperiis ; non offensionibus belli, sed victoriis ; non stipendiis, sed ³triumphis est traducta. Quod denique genus belli esse potest, in quo illum non exercuerit fortuna reipublicae ? ⁴Civile, Africanum, Transalpinum, Hispaniense, mistum ex civitatibus atque ex bellicosissimis nationibus, servile, navale bellum. Varia et ⁵diversa genera et bellorum et hostium, non solum gesta ab hoc uno, sed etiam confecta, nullam rem esse declarant in usu militari positam, quae hujus viri scientiam fugere possit.

XI. Jam verò virtuti Cn. Pompeii quae potest par oratio inveniri ? quid est, quod quisquam aut ille dignum, aut vobis novum, aut cuiquam inauditum possit afferre ? Non enim illae sunt solae virtutes imperatoriae, quae vulgò existimantur, labor in negotiis,

2. *Hoste.....inimico*—These words are distinguished thus by Meunier—Those were properly called *hostes*, against whom the Romans declared war by the *Feciales*, who were sacred persons employed in declaring war and making peace. *Inimici* were those, with whom individuals had private quarrels.

3. *Triumphis*—He had triumphed three times, once for his victories in Africa, once for those in Europe, once for those in Asia.

4. *Civile*—between Cinna and Sylla ; *Africanum*, against Cneius Domitius and a king of Numidia, for his victories over whom, he was called *Pompeius Magnus* by Sylla ; *Transalpinum*, against the inhabitants of the Alps and of the countries beyond those mountains, who opposed his passage into Spain to attack Sertorius ; *Hispaniense*, against Sertorius in Spain, whose army consisted chiefly of warlike barbarians ; *servile*, against Spartacus, Crixus, and Oenomaus, their slaves and gladiators ; *navale bellum*, against the pirates,

5. *Diversa genera.....hostium*—He fought against kings, exiles, proscribed persons, pirates, and slaves.

fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo : quae tanta sunt in hoc uno, quanta in omnibus reliquis imperatoribus, quos aut vidimus aut audivimus, non fuerunt. Testis est Italia, quam ille ipse victor L. Sulla hujus virtute et consilio confessus est liberatam : testis est Sicilia, quam, multis undique cinctam periculis, non terrore belli, sed celeritate consilii explicavit : testis est Africa, quae, magnis oppressa hostium copiis, eorum ipsorum sanguine redundavit : testis est Gallia, per quam legionibus nostris in Hispaniam iter, Gallorum internecione, patefactum est : testis est Hispania, quae saepissimè plurimos hosteis ab hoc superatos prostratosque conspexit : testis est iterum et saepius Italia, quae, cum servili bello tetro periculosoque premeretur, ab hoc auxilium absente expetivit : quod bellum expectatione Pompeii attenuatum atque immutatum est, adventu sublatum ac sepultum : testes verò jam omnes orae atque omnes exterae gentes ac nationes : denique maria omnia, tum universa, tum in singulis oris omnes sinus atque portus. Quis enim toto mari locus per hos annos aut tam firmum habuit praesidium, ut tutus esset ? aut tam fuit abditus, ut laferet ? quis navigavit, qui non se aut mortis aut servitutis periculo committeret, cum aut hieme aut referto praedonum mari navigaretur ? Hoc tantum bellum, tam turpe, tam vetus, tam latè divisum atque dispersum, quis unquam arbitraretur aut ab omnibus imperatoribus uno anno, aut omnibus annis ab una

6. *Omnes orae*.—The pirates committed such extensive depredations, that 10,000 of the slaves they captured were brought to Rome at once, and sold the same day.

imperatore confici posse? Quam provinciam tenuistis a praedonibus liberam per hosce annos? quod vectigal vobis tutum fuit? quem socium defendistis? cui praesidio classibus vestris fuistis? quàm multas existimatis insulas esse desertas? quàm multas aut metu relictas aut a praedonibus captas urbeis esse sociorum?

XII. Sed quid ego longinqua commemoro? fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium populi Romani longè a domo bellare, et propugnaculis imperii sociorum fortunas, non sua tecta defendere. Sociis vestris ego mare clausum per hosce annos dicam fuisse, cum exercitus nostri ¹Brundusio nunquam, nisi summâ hieme, transmiserint? Quid, ad nos cum ab exteris nationibus venirent, captos querar, cum ²legati populi Romani redempti sint? mercatoribus tutum mare non fuisse dicam, cum duodecim secures in praedonum potestatem pervenerint? Quid aut ³Colophonem aut Samum, nobilissimas urbeis, innumerabilesque alias captas esse commemorem, cum vestros portus, atque eos portus, ⁴quibus vitam et spiritum ducitis,

7. *Multas.....urbeis*—The pirates formed armies, made descents, surprised cities that were not fortified, by assault or by sieges took others that were in a condition of defence, and extended their ravages along all the coasts of the Mediterranean sea, the only sea at that time navigated.

8. *Brundusio*—Brundisium was an Italian sea-port, from which the Romans passed into Greece.

9. *Legati.....duodecim secures*—Ambassadors and two Roman Praetors were seized by the pirates in some of their excursions; the Praetors had two axes carried before them in the city, six in the provinces; hence *duodecim secures* imply two Praetors.

1. *Colophonem aut Samum*—cities of Ionia; besides these, the pirates had taken above 400 cities, and plundered thirteen of the richest temples in the world.

2. *Quibus vitam et spiritum ducitis*—Such command of the various harbours in the Mediterranean sea did the pirates possess, that no grain could be brought to Rome from Asia, Africa, Sicily, or Sardinia.

in praedonum fuisse potestate sciatis? An verò ignoratis, portum ³Caietæ celeberrimum atque plenissimum navium, inspectante ⁴praetore, a praedonibus esse direptum? Ex ⁵Miseno autem ejus ipsius liberos, qui cum praedonibus antea ibi bellum gesserat, a praedonibus esse sublato? Nam quid ego ⁶Ostiensae incommodum, atque illam labem atque ignominiam reipublicae querar, cum, propè inspectantibus vobis, classis ea, cui consul populi Romani praepositus esset, a praedonibus capta atque oppressa est? Proh filii immortales! tantam-ne unius hominis incredibilis ac divina virtus tam brevi tempore lucem afferre reipublicae potuit, ut vos, qui modò ante ostium Tiberinum classem hostium videbatis, ii nunc nullam ⁷intra oceani ostium praedonum navem esse audiatis? Atque haec quâ celeritate gesta sint quanquam videtis, tamen a me in dicendo praetereunda non sunt. Quis enim unquam, aut obeundi negotii aut consequendi quaestûs studio, tam brevi tempore tot loca adire, tantos cursus conficere potuit, quàm celeritèr, Cn. Pompeio duce, ⁸belli impetus navigavit? qui,

3. *Caietae*—a sea-port in Campania.

4. *Praetore*—This Praetor probably was Marcus Antonius, son of the famous orator, and father of Mark Antony, the Triumvir. He was afterwards defeated by the pirates near Crete.

5. *Miseno*—Misenum was a promontory in Italy. Plutarch tells us, that the pirates carried the daughter of Marcus Antonius the Praetor mentioned in the preceding note, from his house in this place.

6. *Ostiensae incommodum*—Ostia was a city situated at the mouth of the Tiber, the river, upon the banks of which the city of Rome was built; the pirates seized it, and kept possession of it for some time.

7. *Intra oceani ostium*—that is, within the Mediterranean sea. The straits of Gibraltar were the *ostium oceani*, through which a strong current flows from the Atlantick ocean into the Mediterranean. Pompey had subdued all the pirates.

8. *Belli impetus*—The fleet of Pompey.

nondum tempestivo ad navigandum mari, ⁹*Siciliam* adiit, *Africam* exploravit, inde *Sardiniam* cum classe venit : atque haec tria frumentaria subsidia reipublicae firmissimis praesidiis classibusque munivit. Inde secum in *Italiam* recepisset, ¹*duabus Hispaniis* et *Galliâ Cisalpina* praesidiis ac navibus confirmatâ, missis item in oram *Illyrici* maris et in *Achaiam* omnemque *Graeciam* navibus, *Italiae* duo ²*maria* maximis classibus firmissimisque praesidiis adornavit : ipse autem ut a *Brundusio* profectus est, unde quinquagesimo die totam ad imperium populi *Romani* ³*Ciliciam* adjunxit : omnes qui ubique praedones fuerunt, partim capti interfectique sunt, partim unius hujus imperio ac potestati se dederunt. Idem ⁴*Cretensibus*, cum ad eum usque in *Pamphyliam* ⁵*legatos deprecatoresque* misissent, spem deditionis

9. *Siciliam*—Sicily was called the granary of the republic, from the quantity of corn annually sent to Rome. The Gabinian law conferred on the conductor of the war against the pirates a command for three years over the whole Mediterranean, and all the provinces on its coasts, as far as fifty miles within land. He had power to elect from the Senators fifteen Lieutenants, to take money at discretion from the publick treasury and from the farmers of the revenue, to raise a fleet of 200 sail, and to enlist both sailors and soldiers, as many as he should judge necessary. Such extensive authority and the military talents of Pompey terminated the piratick war.

1. *Duabus Hispaniis*—The two Spains were separated by the river Iber. Cisalpine Gaul was between the Alps and the river Rubicon.

2. *Maria*—Tuscan and Adriatick.

3. *Ciliciam*—The pirates had formed a kind of commonwealth, of which Cilicia was the centre, a country difficult to approach, by reason of the rocks and shoals, that lined the coasts.

4. *Cretensibus*—The island of Crete was another receptacle of the pirates.

5. *Legatos deprecatoresque*—Merouille says, the Cretans fearing that, if Metellus should conquer the island, he would put them all to death, sent ambassadors to Pompey, offering to surrender to him, who, they thought, would be more mild to them ; Pompey therefore, that he might deprive Metellus of the glory of the vic-

non ademit, obsidesque imperavit. Ita tantum bellum, tam diuturnum, tam longè latèque dispersum, quo bello omnes gentes ac nationes premebantur, Cn. Pompeius extremâ hieme apparavit, ineunte vere suscepit, mediâ aestate confectit.

XIII. Est haec divina atque incredibilis virtus imperatoris. Quid caeterae, quas paulò antè commemorare coeperam, quantae atque quàm multae sunt? non enim solùm bellandi virtus in summo atque perfecto imperatore quaerenda est: sed multae sunt artes eximiae, hujus administratae comitesque virtutis. Ac primùm quantâ innocentia debent esse imperatores? quantâ deindè omnibus in rebus temperantia? quantâ fide? quantâ facilitate? quanto ingenio? quantâ humanitate? Quae breviter, qualia sint in Cn. Pompeio, consideremus: summa enim omnia sunt, Quirites; sed ea magis ex aliorum contentione, quàm ipsa per sese cognosci atque intelligi possunt. Quèm enim possumus imperatorem aliquo in numero putare, cujus in exercitu veneant ⁶centuriatus atque venierint? quid hunc hominem magnum aut amplum de republicâ cogitare, qui pecuniam ex aerario depromptam ad bellum administrandum aut ⁷propter cupiditatem provinciae magistratibus divi-

tory, sent his Lieutenant Octavius to Metellus with orders to cease hostilities; which, says Merouille, was base in Pompey, though Cicero artfully turned it to his praise.

6. *Centuriatus*—The office of Centurion, and other military commands, which ought to be bestowed upon merit, were often bought and sold in the camps of venal Generals.

7. *Propter cupiditatem provinciae*—Great corruption was prevalent in the administrations of the provinces in the latter ages of the republic. So much extortion was generally practised, that the government of a rich province was an object of intrigue and bribery. The provinces were selected by the Senate, and distributed to the

serit, aut propter avaritiam Romae in quaestu reliquerit? Vestra admurmuratio facit, Quirites, ut agnoscere videamini, qui haec fecerint. Ego autem neminem nomino; quare irasci mihi nemo poterit, nisi qui ante de se voluerit confiteri. Itaque propter hanc avaritiam imperatorum quantas calamitates, quocunque ventum sit, nostri exercitus ferant, quis ignorat? Itinera, quae per hosce annos in Italiâ per agros atque oppida civium Romanorum nostri imperatores fecerunt, recordamini: tum facilius statuētis, quid apud exteris nationes fieri existimetis; utrū plures arbitramini per hosce annos militum vestrorum armis hostium urbeis, an hibernis sociorum civitates esse deletas? neque enim potest exercitum is continere imperator, qui se ipsum non continet: neque severus esse in iudicando, qui alios in se severos esse iudices non vult. Hic miramur, hunc hominem tantum excellere caeteris, cujus legiones sic in Asiam pervenerunt, ut non modò manus tanti exercitus, sed ne vestigium quidem cuiquam pacato nocuisse dicatur? Jam verò, quemadmodum milites hibernent, quotidie sermones ac literae perferuntur: non modò, ut sump-tum faciat in militem, nemini vis affertur; sed ne cupienti quidem cuiquam permittitur; hiemis enim, non avaritiae perflugium Majores nostri in sociorum atque amicorum tectis esse voluerunt.

Consuls and Praetors sometimes by lot, sometimes by the Senate, and sometimes by the Tribunes of the people, who were often bribed largely on such occasions.

8. *Aut.....in quaestu reliquerit*—It seems from this passage that publick money at Rome was sometimes lent at interest for private emolument.

9. *Admurmuratio*—This whispering of the people probably was applying to particular individuals the allusions, they thought Cicero was making; he, however, disclaims alluding to any one.

XIV. Age verò, caeteris in rebus qualis sit temperantia, considerate : unde illam tantam celeritatem et tam incredibilem cursum initum putatis ? non enim illum eximia vis remigum, aut ars inaudita quaedam gubernandi, aut venti aliqui novi tam celeritèr in ultimas terras pertulerunt ; sed hae res, quae caeteros remorari solent, non retardârunt : non avaritia ab instituto cursu ad praedam aliquam devocavit, non libido ad voluptatem, non amoenitas ad delectationem, non nobilitas urbis ad cognitionem, non denique labor ipse ad quietem : postremò ¹signa et tabulas caeteraque ornamenta Graecorum oppidorum, quae caeteri tollenda esse arbitrantur, ea sibi ille ne visenda quidem existimavit. Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de coelo delapsum intuentur : nunc denique incipiunt credere, fuisse homines Romanos hac quondam abstinentiâ ; quod jam nationibus exteris incredibile ac falsò memoriae proditum videbatur : nunc imperii nostri splendor illis gentibus lucet : nunc intelligunt, non sine causâ Majores suos tum, cum hac temperantiâ magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano, quàm imperare aliis maluisse. Jam verò ita faciles aditus ad eum privatorum, ita liberae querimoniae de aliorum injuriis esse dicuntur, ut is, qui dignitate principibus excellit, ²facilitate par infimis esse videatur. Jam quantum consilio, quantum cunctandae gravitate et copiâ valeat, in quo ipso inest quaedam dignitas imperatoris, vos, Quirites, hoc ipso

1. *Signa et tabulas*—Statues, paintings, etc. of which Generals often robbed the provinces.

2. *Facilitate*—Affability.

in loco saepè cognôstis. Fidem verò ejus inter sociôs quantam existimari putatis, quam hostes omnium gentium sanctissimam esse judicârint? Humanitate jam tantâ est, ut difficile dictu sit, utrùm hostes magis virtutem ejus pugnantes timuêrint, an mansuetudinem victi dilexêrint. Et quisquam dubitabit, quin huic tantum bellum hoc transmittendum sit, qui ad omnia vestrae memoriae bella conficienda divino quodam consilio natus esse videatur?

XV. Et, quoniam auctoritas multùm in bellis quoque administrandis atque imperio militari valet, certè nemini dubium est, quin eâ in re idem ille imperator plurimùm possit; vehementèr autem pertinere ad bella administranda, quid hostes, quid socii de imperatoribus vestris existiment, quis ignôrat? cùm sciâmus homines in tantis rebus, ut aut contemnant, aut metuant, aut odêrint, aut ament, opinione non minùs famae, quàm aliquâ certâ ratione commovêri. Quod igitur nomen unquam in orbe terrarum clarius fuit? cujus res gestae pares? de quo homine vos, id quod maximè facit auctoritatem, ³tanta et tam praeclara judicia fecistis? An verò ullam usquam esse oram tam desertam putatis, quò non illius diêi fama pervasêrit, cùm universus populus Romanus, referto foro repletisque omnibus templis, ex quibus hic locus conspici potest, unum sibi ⁴ad commune omnium gentium bellum Cn. Pompeium imperatorem depo-

3. *Tanta et tam praeclara judicia*—They had decreed him a triumph, while he was only a Knight, sent him, while Quaestor, to Spain against Sertorius, and declared him Consul, before he had held the other magistracies.

4. *Ad commune omnium gentium bellum*—Pirates are considered by the law of nations as the enemies of mankind.

poscit? Itaque, ut plura non dicam, neque aliorum exemplis confirmem, quantum hujus auctoritas valeat in bello, ab eodem Cn. Pompeio omnium rerum egregiarum exempla sumantur: qui, quo die a vobis maritimo bello praepositus est imperator, tanta repente vilitas annonae ex summâ inopiâ et caritate rei frumentariae consecuta est, unius hominis spe et nomine, quantam vix ex summâ ubertate agrorum diuturna pax efficere potuisset. Jam verò acceptâ in Ponto calamitate ex eo praelio, de quo vos paulò antè invitatus admonui, cum socii pertimuissent, hostium opes animique crevissent; cum satis firmum praesidium provincia non haberet, amisissetis Asiam, Quirites, nisi ad id ipsum discrimen ejus temporis divinitus Cn. Pompeium ad eas regiones fortuna populi Romani attulisset. Hujus adventus et Mithridatem insolitâ inflammatum victoriâ continuit, et Tigranem magnis copiis minitantem Asiae retardavit. Et quisquam dubitabit quid virtute perfecturus sit, qui tantum auctoritate perfecit? aut quàm facile imperio atque exercitu socios et vectigalia conservaturus sit, qui ipso nomine ac rumore defendit?

XVI. Age verò, illa res quantam declarat ejusdem hominis apud hosteis populi Romani auctoritatem, quòd, ex locis tam longinquis tamque diversis, tam brevi tempore omnes huic uni se dediderunt? quòd Cretensium legati, cum in eorum insulâ noster imperator exercitusque esset, ad Cn. Pompeium in ultimas propè terras venerunt, eique se omnes Cretensium civitates dedere velle dixerunt? Quid? idem ipse

Mithridates, non-ne ad eundem Cn. Pompeium * legatum usque in Hispaniam misit? eumque Pompeius legatum semper judicavit: ii, quibus semper erat molestum, ad eum potissimum esse missum, speculatorem, quàm legatum judicare maluerunt. Potestis igitur jam constituere, Quirites, hanc auctoritatem multis postea rebus gestis magnisque vestris judiciis amplificatam, quantum apud illos reges, quantum apud exterarum nationes valituram esse existimetis. Reliquum est, ut de felicitate, quam praestare de seipso nemo potest, meminisse et commemorare de altero possumus; sicut aequum est homini, de potestate deorum timidè et pauca dicamus. Ego enim sic existimo: 7 Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario, et caeteris magnis imperatoribus, non solum propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam, saepius imperia mandata atque exercitus esse commissos, Fuit enim profectò quibusdam summis viris quaedam ad amplitudinem et gloriam et ad res magnas bene gerendas divinitus adjuncta fortuna. De hujus autem hominis felicitate, de quo nunc agimus, hanc utar moderatione dicendi, non ut in illius potestate fortunam positam esse dicam, sed ut praeterita meminisse,

6. *Legatum*.—Although Mithridates, after the assassination of Sertorius, with whom he had entered into an alliance, sent an ambassador to Pompey in Spain, yet the army of Sertorius considered him rather as a spy than an ambassador.

7. *Maximo, etc.*.—Fabius Maximus was five times Consul, and once Dictator. He conquered Hannibal by delay, by avoiding engagements. Marcellus was also five times Consul. He subdued the Gauls, defeated the army of Hannibal at Nola, and gained many other victories. Scipio Africanus was twice Consul. He defeated the Africans, and obliged Hannibal to return to Carthage. Marius was seven times Consul. He conquered Jugurtha, the Teutones, Ambrones, and Cimbri.

reliqua sperare videamur : ne ⁸aut invisa diis immortalibus oratio nostra, aut ingrata esse videatur. Itaque non sum praedicaturus, Quirites, quantas ille res domi militiaeque, terrâ marique, quantâque felicitate gesserit : ut ejus semper voluntatibus non modò cives assenserint, socii obtemperârint, hostes obediêrint, sed etiam ⁹venti tempestatesque obsecundârint. Hoc brevissimè dicam, neminem unquam tam impudentem fuisse, qui a diis immortalibus tot et tantas res tacitus audêret optare, quot et quantas dii immortales ad Cn. Pompeium detulêrunt. Quod ut illi proprium ac perpetuum sit, Quirites, cum communis salutis atque imperii, tum ipsius hominis causâ, sicuti facitis, velle et optare debetis. Quare cum et bellum ita necessarium sit, ut negligi non possit ; ita magnum, ut accuratissimè sit administrandum : et cum ei imperatorem praeficere possitis, in quo sit eximia belli scientia, singularis virtus, clarissima auctoritas, egregia fortuna ; dubitabitis, Quirites, quin hoc tantum boni, quod vobis a diis immortalibus oblâtum et datum est, in rempublicam conservandam atque amplificandam conferâtis.

XVII. Quòd si Romae Cn. Pompeius privatus esset hoc tempore : tamen ad tantum bellum is erat deligendus atque mittendus ; nunc cum ad caeteras summas utilitates haec quoque opportunitas adjun-

8. *Aut invisa*.—It would have been offensive and ungrateful to the Gods, to have said that Pompey overruled chance, and made fortune obey his commands.

9. *Venti*.—Had not the winds favoured him, he could not have conquered, with so much celerity, the pirates, who were scattered over every part of the Mediterranean.

gatur, ut ¹in iis ipsis locis adsit, ut habeat exercitum, ut ab iis, qui habent, accipere statim possit: quid expectamus? aut cur non, ducibus diis immortalibus, eidem, cui caetera summâ cum salute reipublicae commissa sunt, hoc quoque bellum regium committimus? At enim vir clarissimus, amantissimus reipublicae, vestris beneficiis amplissimis affectus, ²Q. Catulus; itemque summis ornamentis honoris, fortunae, virtutis, ingenii praeditus ³Q. Hortensius ab hac ratione dissentiunt: quorum ego auctoritatem apud vos multis locis plurimum valuisse et valere

1. *In iis ipsis locis*—Pompey at this time was in Asia, engaged in settling some small remains of the piratical war. He had a flourishing army with him, and could easily take possession of the forces in the neighbouring provinces.

2. *Catulus*—Of Catulus the following anecdote is told. After he had alledged, that unusual grants of exorbitant power were the causes of all the miseries, the republick had suffered from the prescriptions of Marius and Sylla, and that they were pernicious and contrary to the constitution of Rome, he told the people they were too fond of Pompey, and asked them, "Should you unfortunately lose him, in whom would you place your confidence?" "In you, CATULUS," they all cried out with one voice. Catulus was of consular rank, and popular.

3. *Hortensius*—Hortensius began very early to make a figure at the bar; he was only nineteen years of age, when he pleaded his first cause with great eloquence and excellence. "Like a statue of Phidias," says Cicero, "the instant he was seen, the same instant he was admired." He charmed the eye no less by his action, than the ear by the harmony of his voice and the musick of his periods. "He reigned absolute in the Forum," says Dr. Middleton, "when Cicero first entered it, and as his superior fame was the chief spur of Cicero's industry, so the shining specimen, which Cicero soon gave of himself, made Hortensius likewise brighter for it, by obliging him to exert all the force of his genius to maintain his ground against his young rival. They passed a great part of their lives in a kind of equal contest and emulation; but Hortensius, by the superiority of his years, having first passed through the usual gradation of publick honours, and satisfied his ambition by attaining the highest, began to relax somewhat of his old contention, and gave way to the charms of ease and luxury, to which his nature strongly inclined him, till he was forced, at last, by the general voice of the city to yield the post of honour to Cicero."

oportere confiteor : sed in hac causâ, tametsi cognoscitis auctoritates contrarias fortissimorum virorum et clarissimorum, tamen omissis auctoritatibus, ipsâ re et ratione exquirere possumus veritatem : atque hoc facilius, quod ea omnia, quae adhuc a me dicta sunt, iidem isti vera esse concedunt, et necessarium bellum esse et magnum, et in uno Cn. Pompeio summa esse omnia. Quid igitur ait Hortensius ? si uni omnia tribuenda sunt, unum dignissimum esse Pompeium : sed ad unum tamen omnia deferri non oportere. Obsolevit jam ista oratio, re multò magis, quàm verbis refutata. Nam tu idem, Q. Hortensi, multa pro tuâ summâ copiâ ac singulari facultate dicendi, et in senatu contra virum fortem A. Gabinium graviter ornatèque dixisti, cùm is de uno imperatore contra praedones constituendo legem promulgasset : et ex hoc ipso loco permulta idem contra legem verba fecisti. Quid ? tum, per deos immortales, si plùs apud populum Romanum auctoritas tua, quàm ipsius populi Romani salus et vera causa valuisset, hodiè hanc gloriam atque hoc orbis terrae imperium teneremus ? an tibi tum imperium esse hoc videbatur, cum populi Romani legati, praetores, quaestoresque capiebantur ? cum ex omnibus provinciis commeatu et privato et publico prohibebamur ? cùm ita clausa erant nobis omnia maria, ut neque

4. *Omnia tribuenda*—The power, that would be delegated to Pompey by this law of Manilius, would be almost unbounded.

5. *A. Gabinium*—The power conferred on Pompey by the Gabinian law, which appointed him to the command in the piratick war, Hortensius thought too exorbitant, and therefore opposed the law, which, although it happened to be attended rather with fortunate than unlucky consequences, was a bad precedent.

privatam rem transmarinam neque publicam jam obire possemus ?

XVIII. Quae civitas antèa unquam fuit, non dico ⁶Atheniensium, quae satis latè quondam mare tenuisse dicitur : non ⁷Carthaginiensium, qui permultum classe maritimisque rebus valuērunt : non Rhodiorum, quorum usque ⁸ad nostram memoriam disciplina navalis et gloria remansit : quae civitas antèa unquam tam tenuis, quae tam parva insula fuit, quae non portus suos et agros et aliquam partem regionis atque orae maritimae per se ipsa defenderet ? At, herclè, aliquot annos continuos ante legem Gabiniam ille populus Roman. ejus usque ad nostram memoriam nomen invictum in ⁹navalibus pugnis permanserat, magnà et multò maximà parte non modò utilitatis, sed dignitatis atque imperii caruit. Nos,

6. *Atheniensium*—Athens retained the sovereignty of the seas nearly seventy years.

7. *Carthaginiensium*—Carthage before it was conquered by the Romans was a great commercial city.

8. *Ad nostram memoriam*—The island of Rhodes was still celebrated for its attention to naval discipline.

9. *Navalibus pugnis.....utilitatis, etc.*—The Romans formerly had been celebrated for their naval victories over the Carthaginian and other Admirals ; lately the pirates had not only intercepted their provisions, but taken and insulted their magistrates ; Pompey, armed by the Gabinian law with the most extensive power, had reduced these Asiatick bucaniers and marauders. These facts seem to prove, that, before Pompey took command of the war against the pirates, the naval skill of the Romans had degenerated, and that he alone was able to terminate successfully so dangerous a war ; but the truth is, the Romans had not degenerated, nor was Pompey the only man, who could put an honourable end to the war. The Romans, engaged in contentions of more importance, did not notice the commencement of the piratick war, till it became threatening, and affected them ; and there were many Roman Senators, who, had they been armed with the authority of the Gabinian law, would as soon have terminated the opposition of these lawless freebooters.

quorum majores ¹Antiochum regem classe ²Persenque superârunt, omnibusque navalibus pugnis Carthaginienses, homines in maritimis rebus exercitissimos paratissimosque, vicerunt, ii nullo in loco jam praedonibus pares esse poterâmus. Nos quoque, qui antea non modò Italiam tutam habebamus, sed omneis socios in ultimis oris auctoritate nostri imperii salvos praestare poteramus, tum, cum insula Delos tam procul a nobis in Aegæo mari posita, quò omnes undique cum mercibus atque oneribus commeabant, referta divitiis, parva, sine muro nihil timebat; iidem non modò provinciis atque oris Italiae maritimis ac portibus nostris, sed etiam ³Appiâ jam viâ carebamus: et his temporibus non pudebat magistratus populi Romani in hunc ipsum locum ascendere, cum eum vobis majores vestri exuviis nauticis et classium spoliis ornatum reliquissent.

XIX. Bono te animo tum, Q. Hortensi, populus Romanus, et caeteros, qui erant in eâdem sententiâ,

1. *Antiochum regem*—In the war with Antiochus the Great, the Romans twice defeated his fleet under Polyxenidas, his Admiral.

2. *Persenque superârunt*—There is no mention in Roman history of a sea-fight with Perses; after the battle of Pydna, in which he was defeated by Paulus Aemilius, he took refuge in the island of Samothrace, and soon afterwards surrendered himself to the Praetor Octavius, who was sent with a fleet to the island by the Consul. If, as Livy says, Octavius had a naval triumph over king Perses, it must have been decreed to him for receiving Perses as a prisoner, not for fighting him.

3. *Appiâ jam viâ carebamus*—The *Appia via* was the first road the Romans paved; it was named from Appius Claudius the Censor, who first made it. At first it extended only to Capua, but was afterwards continued to Brundisium. It was called REGINA VIARUM. It was paved with the hardest flint, so firmly, that in several places, it remains entire to this day, above 2000 years; and was so broad that two carriages might pass one another. The stones were of different sizes; but so artfully joined, that they appeared but one stone. This road had been infested by the pirates.

dicere existimavit ea, quae sentiebātis : sed tamen in salute communi idem populus Romanus dolori suo maluit, quàm auctoritati vestrae obtemperare. Itaque una lex, unus vir, unus annus non modò nos illà miserià ac turpitudine liberavit ; sed etiam effecit, ut aliquando verè videremur omnibus gentibus ac nationibus terrà marique imperare. Quò mihi etiam indignius videtur obtreectatum esse adhuc, Gabinio dicam, an-ne Pompeio, an utrique, (id quod est verius) ‘ne legaretur A. Gabinius Cn. Pompeio expetenti ac postulanti ? Utrùm ille, qui postulat legatum ad tantum bellum, què velit, idoneus non est qui impetret, cùm caeteri ad expilandos socios diripendasque provincias, quos voluerunt, legatos eduxerint ? an ipse, cujus lege salus ac dignitas populo Romano atque omnibus gentibus constituta est, expers esse debet gloriae ejus imperatoris atque ejus exercitùs, qui consilio ipsius atque periculo est constitutus ? ‘an Cn. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Coelius Latinien-sis, Cn. Lentulus, quos omneis honoris causà nomino, cum tribuni plebis fuissent, anno proximo legati esse potuerunt ? in hoc uno Gabinio sunt tam diligentes,

4. *Ne legaretur A. Gabinius*.—It is said by Roman historians, that the only motive, which induced Gabinius to publish his law in favour of Pompey, was the desire of being chosen one of his Lieutenants. Pompey solicited this ; but the people refused it ; and, although Cicero here says, that this refusal appeared to him a great indignity, we must doubt concerning his sincerity, since in another oration (*Post reditum in Senatu*) he says, that Gabinius was so necessitous and so profligate at this time, that, if he had not passed his law, he must have turned pirate himself.

5. *An Cn. Falcidius, etc.*.—Tribunes could not be Lieutenants, till the year after their Tribuneship had expired, and then only to those Generals, who had been appointed by means of their Tribuneship. Under these circumstances it was customary to advance the Tribunes to the Lieutenancies.

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qui in hoc bello, quod lege Gabinia geritur, in hoc imperatore atque exercitu, quem per vos ipse constituit, etiam praecipuo jure esse deberet? de quo legando spero consules ad Senatum relatores: qui si dubitabunt aut gravabuntur, ego me profiteor relaturum: neque me impedit cujusquam, Quirites, inimicum edictum, quò minùs, fretus vobis, vestrum jus beneficiumque defendam: neque, praeter intercessionem, quidquam audiam: de qua (ut arbitror) isti ipsi, qui manantur, etiam atque etiam, quì id liceat, considerabunt. Mea quidem sententia, Quirites, unus A. Gabinius, belli maritimi rerumque gestarum auctor, comes Cn. Pompeio adscribitur, propterea quòd alter uni id bellum suscipiendum vestris suffragiis detulit; alter delatum susceptumque confecit.

XX. Reliquum est, ut de Q. Catuli auctoritate et sententia dicendum esse videatur: qui cum ex vobis quaereret, si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia poneretis; si quid de eo factum esset, in quo spem essetis habituri: cepit magnum suae virtutis fructum ac dignitatis, cum omnes propè unâ voce in eo ipso vos spem habituros esse dixistis. Etenim talis est vir, ut nulla res tanta sit ac tam difficilis, quam ille non et consilio regere et integritate tueri et virtute conficere possit: sed in hoc ipso ab eo vehementissimè dissentiò, quòd, quò minùs certa est hominum ac minùs diuturna.

6. *Praeter intercessionem*—It was in the power of any Tribune to stop the proceedings of any assembly of the people by his intercession, that is, by pronouncing the solemn word *Veto*.

7. *Unus A. Gabinius.....comes Cn. Pompeio*—It has been said, we must not believe Cicero sincere in all the opinions he advances in his orations; he was so much of a statesman and lawyer, as sometimes for a politick purpose, or a client's advantage, to express a belief, which he did not entertain. See note 4th, page 121st, and the last note to this oration.

vita, hoc magis respub. dum per deos immortalis licet, frui debet summi hominis vitâ atque virtute. At enim nihil novi fiat contra exempla atque instituta Majorum. Non dico hoc loco Majores nostros semper in pace consuetudini, in bello utilitati paruisse, semper ad novos casus temporum novorum consiliorum rationes accommodâsse: non dicam duo bella maxima, Punicum et Hispaniense, ab uno imperatore esse confecta: duas urbes potentissimas, quae huic imperio maximè minabantur, Carthaginem atque Numantiam ab eodem Scipione esse deletas: non commemorabo, nuper ita vobis patribusque vestris esse visum, ut in uno C. Mario spes imperii poneretur: ut idem cum Jugurthâ, idem cum Cimbris, idem cum Teutonis bellum administraret; in ipso Cn. Pompeio, in quo novi constitui nihil vult Q. Catulus, quàm multa sint nova summâ Q. Catuli voluntate constituta, recordamini.

XXI. Quid enim tam novum, quàm adolescentulum privatum exercitum difficili reipublicae tempore conficere? confecit: huic praeesse? praefuit: rem optimè ductu suo gerere? gessit. Quid tam praeter consuetudinem, quàm homini peradolescenti, cujus a senatorio gradu aetas longè abesset, imperium at-

8. *Scipione.....Mario—Cicero* here apologizes for the unusual authority conferred on Pompey, by the examples of Scipio and Marius. Scipio Aemilianus was twice elected Consul at an illegal age, and in his Consulships destroyed Carthage in Africa, and Numantia in Spain. Marius was elected seven times Consul, which elections were unprecedented. He conquered Jugurtha, the Cimbri, and the Teutones.

9. *A senatorio gradu aetas longe abesset*—It is said by Dr. Alexander Adam, that in the time of Cicero the usual age of being chosen a Senator seems to have been thirty one: of Pompey Plutarch relates, that he could have been received in Senate before that age, but that he refused it: his vain-glory induced him to think it a greater honour to triumph, while he was only a Knight.

que exercitum dari? Siciliam permitti, atque Africam, bellumque in eâ administrandum? Fuit in his provinciis singulari innocentia, gravitate, virtute: bellum in Africâ maximum confecit, victorem exercitum deportavit. Quid verò tam inauditum, quàm equitem Rom. triumphare? at eam quoque rem populus Rom. non modò vidit, sed etiam studio omni visendam putavit. Quid tam inusitatum, quàm ut, cum duo consules clarissimi fortissimique essent, eques Rom. ad bellum maximum formidolosissimumque pro consule mitteretur? missus est. Quo quidem tempore, cum esset non nemo in Senatu, qui diceret, Non oportere mitti hominem privatum pro consule: L. Philippus dixisse dicitur, Non se illum suâ sententiâ pro consule, sed pro consulibus mittere. Tanta in eo reipublicae benè gerendae spes constituebatur, ut duorum consulum munus unus adolescentis virtuti committeretur. Quid tam singulare, quàm ut ex senatusconsulto legibus solutus, consul antè fieret, quàm ullum alium magistratum per leges capere licuisset; quid tam incredibile, quàm ut iterum eques Rom. ex senatusconsulto triumpharet? quae in omnibus hominibus nova post hominum memoriam constituta sunt, ea tam multa non sunt, quàm haec, quae in hoc uno homine vidimus. Atque haec tot

1. *Triumphare*.—It is related, that when Pompey had defeated Domitius Aenobarbus and Hiarbas, king of one part of Numidia, and returned to Rome, he demanded a triumph of Sylla, at that time Dictator. Being refused, he said it would be best for Sylla to consider, that the *rising* had more worshippers than the *setting sun*. Sylla did not hear this, but being told of it, he was struck with the boldness of the expression, and instantly said, *Let him triumph: Let him triumph.*

2. *Iterum*.—Pompey had a second triumph, for his victory over the remains of Sertorius' army.

exempla, tanta ac tam nova profecta sunt in eundem hominem a Q. Catulo atque a caeterorum ejusdem dignitatis amplissimorum hominum auctoritate.

XXII. Quare videant, ne sit periniquum et non ferendum, illorum auctoritatem de Cn. Pompeii dignitate a vobis comprobata semper esse; vestrum ab illis de eodem homine iudicium populi que Rom. auctoritatem improbari: praesertim cum jam suo jure populus Romanus in hoc homine suam auctoritatem vel contra omnes, qui dissentiunt, possit defendere: propterea quod, istis reclamantibus, vos unum illum ex omnibus delegistis, quem bello praedonum praeponeretis. Hoc si vos temere fecistis, et reipublicae parum consulistis; recte isti studia vestra suis consiliis regere conantur: sin autem vos plus tum in republica vidistis, vos, his repugnantibus, per vosmetipsos dignitatem huic imperio, salutem orbi terrarum attulistis: aliquando isti principes et sibi et caeteris populi Romani universi auctoritati parendum esse fateantur. Atque in hoc bello Asiatico et regio, non solum militaris illa virtus, quae est in Cn. Pompeio singularis, sed aliae quoque virtutes animi multae et magnae requiruntur. Difficile est in Asia, Cilicia, Syria, regnisque interiorum nationum ita versari vestrum imperatorem, ut nihil aliud quam de hoste ac de laude cogitet: deinde etiam si qui sunt pudore ac temperantia moderatores, tamen eos esse taleis propter multitudinem cupidorum hominum nemo arbitratur. Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud exteras nationes propter eorum, quos ad eas per hos annos cum imperio misimus, injurias ac libidines.

Quod enim fanum putatis in illis terris nostris magistratibus religiosum, quam civitatem sanctam, quam domum satis clausam ac munitam fuisse? urbes jam locuplètes ac copiosae requiruntur, quibus causa belli propter diripiendi cupiditatem inferatur. Libentèr haec coràm cum Q. Catalo et Hortensio disputarem, summis et clarissimis viris; novērunt enim sociorum vulnera, vident eorum calamitates, querimonias audiunt. Pro sociis vos contra hostes exercitum mittere putatis, an hostium simulatione contra socios atque amicos? quae civitas est in Asia, quae non modò unius imperatoris aut legati, sed unius tribuni militum animos ac spiritus capere possit?

XXIII. Quare etiam qui quem habētis, qui, collatis signis, exercitus regios superare posse videntur; tamen nisi erit idem, qui se a pecuniis sociorum, qui ab eorum conjugibus ac liberis, qui ab auro gazaque regiā manus, oculos, animum cohibere possit, non erit idoneus, qui ad bellum Asiaticum regiumque mittatur. Ecquam putatis civitatem pacatam fuisse, quae locuples sit? ecquam esse locuplètem, quae istis pacata esse videatur? Ora maritima, Quirites, Cn. Pompeium non solùm propter rei militaris gloriam, sed etiam propter animi continentiam requisivit; videbat enim populus Romanus non locupletari quotannis pecuniā publicā, praeter paucos: neque nos quidquam aliud assèqui classium nomine, nisi ut detrimentis accipiendis majore affici turpitudine videremur. Nunc quā cupiditate homines in provincias, quibus jacturis, quibus conditionibus proficiscantur, ignōrant videlicet isti, qui ad unum deferenda esse omnia non arbitrantur; quasi verò Cn. Pompeium non cum suis virtu-

tibus, tum etiam aliena vitis magnum esse videamus. Quare nolite dubitare quin huic uni credatis omnia, qui inter annos tot unus inventus sit, quem socii in urbeis suas cum exercitu venisse gaudeant. Quod si auctoritatibus hanc causam, Quirites, confirmandam putatis, est vobis auctor, vir bellorum omnium maximarumque rerum peritissimus ³P. Servilius : cujus tantae res gestae terrâ marique extiterunt, ut cum de bello deliberetis, auctor vobis gravior esse nemo debeat : est ⁴C. Curio summis vestris beneficiis maximisque rebus gestis, summo ingenio et prudentiâ praeditus : est Cn. Lentulus, in quo omnes, pro amplissimis vestris honoribus, summum consilium, summam gravitatem esse cognoscitis : est C. Cassius integritate, virtute, constantiâ singulari. Quare videte, ut horum auctoritatibus, illorum orationi, qui dissentiant, respondere posse videamur.

XXIV. Quae cum ita sint, C. Manili, primum istam tuam et legem et voluntatem et sententiam laudo vehementissimèque comprobo : deinde te horro, ut, auctore populo Romano, ⁵maneas in sententiâ, neve cujusquam vim aut minas pertimescas. Primum in te satis esse animi constantiaeque arbitror : deinde, cum tantam multitudinem cum tanto studio

3. *Servilius*—After the defeat of the Praetor Antonius, P. Servilius was sent against the pirates. Having defeated them, taken many of their cities, and subdued the nation of the Isauri, he acquired a triumph and the surname of Isauricus. He had spoken, before Cicero, in favour of the law.

4. *C. Curio....Lentulus....Cassius*—Curio was Consul with Cn. Octavius, Lentulus with Lucullus : Cassius was a particular friend of Cicero.

5. *Maneas in sententiâ*—The law of Manilius was unpopular with many good men, because it conferred too much power upon an individual, and because it would deprive Lucullus of the glory of terminating the war.

adesse videamus, quantam nunc iterum in eodem homine praeficiendo videmus; quid est, quod aut de re aut de perficiendi facultate dubitemus? Ego autem, quidquid in me est studii, consilii, laboris, ingenii, quidquid hoc beneficio populi Romani atque hanc potestate praetoria, quidquid auctoritate, fide, constantia, possum, id omne ad hanc rem conficiendam tibi et populo Romano polliceor et defero: testorque omnes deos, et eos maximè, qui huic loco temploque praesident, qui omnium mentis eorum, qui ad rempub. adeunt, maximè perspiciunt, me hoc neque rogatu facere cujusquam, neque quò Cn. Pompeii gratiam mihi per hanc causam conciliari putem, neque quò mihi ex cujusquam amplitudine, aut praesidia periculis, aut adjumenta honoribus quaeram; propterea quòd pericula facilè, ut hominem praestare oportet, innocentia tecti pellemus: honores autem neque ab uno, neque ex hoc loco, sed eadem nostra illa laboriosissima ratione vitae, si vestra voluntas feret, consequemur. Quamobrem quidquid in hac causa mihi susceptum est, Quirites, id omne me reipublicae causa suscepisse confirmo: tantumque abest, ut aliquam bonam gratiam mihi quaesisse videar, ut multas etiam similitudines partim obscuras, partim apertas, intelligam mihi non necessarias, vobis non inutiles suscepisse. Sed ego me hoc honore praeditum, tantis vestris beneficiis affectum statui, Quirites, vestram

6. *Hic loco temploque*—There were many temples round the Forum, and Livy says, the Rostra also was called a temple.

7. *Laboriosissimam rationem vitae*—In early life Cicero had applied himself very industriously to the business of the bar. At the time he delivered this oration, he was Praetor, as, a few lines above, he insinuates.

voluntatem, et reipublicae dignitatem, et salutem provinciarum atque sociorum meis omnibus commodis et rationibus praeferre oportere. *

8. Notwithstanding Cicero, at the close of his oration, declares that he has been induced to support the Manilian law only by the disinterested motives of patriotism, many modern authors will not believe him. We will quote the remarks of these criticks, premising that the eloquence of Cicero contributed to the enactment of the law. The elegant writer of the "Observations on the life and writings of Cicero," speaking of Cicero and those who spoke in favour of the Manilian law, says, "They had not the least pretence of public necessity to justify it.....But Lucullus, who commanded in Asia, had overcome Mithridates in several battles, and was as capable of finishing the war, as he was, whom they appointed to be his successor. With an eloquence worthy of a better cause, he (Cicero) most artfully reflected on Lucullus, whose reputation as well as authority was to be made a sacrifice to the envy of Pompey; then he proceeded to descant upon Pompey's character, which he set off with all the ornaments of rhetoric; attributing to him the whole success, not only of the African, Spanish and piratick wars, but even of that against the slaves, the honour of which was solely due to Crassus. Thus, by cruelly injuring two of the greatest Generals that were in the commonwealth, by a most servile flattery of the man, who was manifestly overturning all its liberties, he brought the people to consent to the Manilian law; which, had a regard to the interest of his country been his constant principle, he ought to have opposed as violently, as he afterwards did the Agrarian law, or any other attempt against the safety and freedom of the state." Monsieur Crevier, the continuator of Rollin's Roman history, speaking of the Manilian law, says, "We have the discourse which Cicero pronounced on this occasion. It is more to his honour as an orator, than as a patriot, or commonwealth's man.... But he had the Consulship nearly in view, and it behoved him therefore to gain the people's favour, and make sure of the friendship of Pompey." The learned author of "The Divine Legation of Moses," etc. while considering the character of Cicero, says in the third section of the third book, "The several and various characters he sustained in his life and writings, habituated him to feign and dissemble his opinions. He may be considered as an orator, a statesman, a philosopher, characters all equally personated; and no one more the real man than the other, but each of them taken up and laid down for the occasion. This appears from the numerous inconsistencies found in him throughout the course of his sustaining them." Having mentioned an instance in which the philosopher confuted the statesman, the author adds, "as in another instance the statesman seems to have got the better of the philosopher. He defends the paradoxes of the Stoicks in a philosophick dissertation; but, in his oration for Muraena, he ridicules those paradoxes in the freest manner.....Nor under one and the same character, or at one and the

same time, is he more consistent.....In a word, he laughed at the opinions of state, when he was amongst philosophers; he laughed at the doctrines of the philosophers, when he was cajoling an assembly; and he laughed heartily at both, when withdrawn among his friends in a corner. Nor is this the worst part of the story. He hath given us no mark to distinguish his meaning; for in his *Academic Questions* he is ready to swear, he always speaks what he thinks: *Jurarem per Jovem deosque penates, me et ardere studio veri reperiendi, et ea sentire, quae dicerem*; yet in his treatise, *De Natura Deorum*, he has strangely changed his tone; *Qui autem requirunt, quid quaque de re ipsi sentiamus, curiosius id faciunt, quam necesse est.*—The latter part of this last quotation invalidates the defence Dr. Middleton, Cicero's English historian and panegyrist, makes against the charges of flattery and selfish motives, as that author offers no other proof of his disinterestedness, than his own declaration in the close of the oration. Mr. Melmoth, the elegant translator of Cicero's letters *Ad Familiares*, still farther weakens his pretensions to sincerity. He says, "Cicero's real sentiments and opinions cannot be proved by any particular passages in these letters. In those to Atticus, indeed, he was generally, *though not always*, more sincere." We would mention the authority also of Hook, the Roman historian, who is more severe upon Cicero than any author we have quoted, did we not believe he traduced the characters of most of the great men of Rome to elevate that of Julius Caesar. But more quotations are unnecessary. We have been induced to select those already expressed, not from any desire to detract praise from Cicero's character, of which we still have a high opinion, but from a wish to prevent the youth, who shall study these orations, from forming, by their perusal of them, erroneous ideas of the characters of distinguished Roman citizens. We therefore will not hesitate to declare our opinion, that in this oration Cicero extols the praises of Pompey too high, and that he depreciates the merit of Lucullus too much. For the first opinion we have the authority of Cicero himself, who in a future period of his life confessed, he had pronounced praises on Pompey, which he did not deserve: and for the last, we have the authority of Plutarch, who says Lucullus possessed great qualities, courage, vigilance, activity, prudence, and the love of justice.

ORATIO PRO M. MARCELLO.

INTRODUCTION.

THERE existed a friendship between Cicero and the family of the Marcelli: but of Marcus Marcellus Cicero was a particular friend. Marcellus was no less eminent on account of his birth, than for the rank he held in the republick; his courage and conduct were equally conspicuous, and the testimonies of historians unite in characterising him as incapable of meanness or fear. During his consulship he opposed Caesar, and avowed his intentions to ruin him. After the battle of Pharsalia, in which Caesar conquered Pompey and his adherents, he retired to Mitylenae, where he seemed resolved to spend the remainder of his life in philosophick retirement, and make the pursuits of literature his only employment. This resolution, after many attempts, was destroyed by the urgent requests of his friends. The letters of his brother Caius and Cicero induced him to consent, that application might be made to Caesar for permission to return to Rome. In one of the meetings of the Senate, therefore, when the Dictator had taken his seat, Piso, the father in law of Caesar, first mentioned the return of Marcellus. The brother of the illustrious exile immediately threw himself at the feet of Caesar, and requested of him the desired favour; and the whole Senate at the same time rising from their seats urged the request, and entreated him to restore them one of their most distinguished and most valuable members. Caesar at first assumed severity, and complained of the resentment Marcellus had ever shewn to him. But when he had made the Senators fear a denial, he unexpectedly added, that whatever reasons he had to be dissatisfied with the man, for whose return they sued, he could not oppose the unanimous desire of the Senate. Having said this, notwithstanding he saw the whole Senate concurrent in the petition, he called for the particular opinion of every Senator; a method never practised, except in cases of debate, and when the house was divided; "but," says Dr. Middleton, "he wanted the usual tribute of flattery upon this act of grace; and had a mind probably to make an experiment of Cicero's temper, and to draw from him especially some incense on the occasion; nor was he disappointed of his aim." Cicero experienced much joy at the prospect of his friend's return; he fancied he saw the image of the old republick reviving; and, after other Senators had expressed their opinions, he pronounced in the exalted feelings of the moment, the following beautiful oration, which is so much known, and so universally admired, and "which," says Cicero's English historian, "though made upon the spot, yet for elegance of diction, vivacity of sentiment, and politeness of compliment is superior to any thing extant of the kind in all antiquity." It was pronounced in the 707th year of Rome, and in the 61st of Cicero's age.

DIUTURNI silentii, P. C. quo eram his temporibus usus, non timore aliquo, sed partim dolore, partim verecundia, finem hodiernus dies attulit; idemque initium, quae vellem quaeque sentirem, meo pristino more dicendi. Tantam enim mansuetudinem, tam inusitatam inauditamque clementiam, tantum in summâ potestate rerum omnium modum, tam denique incredibilem sapientiam ac penè divinam tacitus nullo modo praeterire possum. M. enim Marcello vobis, P. C. rei que pub. reddito, non solùm illius, sed meam etiam vocem et auctoritatem et vobis et reipublicae conservatam ac restitutam puto. Dolebam enim, P. C. ac vehementer angebar, cum viderem virum talem, qui in eadem causâ esset, ²in quâ

1. *Diuturni silentii*—In a letter to Servius Sulpicius, Proconsul in Greece, Cicero, mentioning the petition for Marcellus' return, writes, "What the senate did was this; upon the mention of Marcellus by Piso, his brother Caius having thrown himself at Caesar's feet, they all rose up, and went in a supplicating manner towards Caesar: in short this day's work appeared so decent, that I could not help fancying I saw the image of the old republick reviving. When all, therefore, who were asked their opinions before me, had returned thanks to Caesar, excepting Volcatius, (for he declared, that he would not have done it, though he had been in the place of Marcellus) I, as soon as I was called upon, changed my mind; for I had resolved with myself to have observed an eternal silence, not through any laziness, but the loss of my former dignity; but Caesar's greatness of mind and the laudable zeal of the Senate overcame my resolution. I gave thanks, therefore, to Caesar, in a long speech, and have deprived myself by it, I fear, on other occasions, of that honest quiet, which was my only comfort in these unhappy times; but since I have hitherto avoided giving him offence, (and, if I had always continued silent, he would have interpreted it perhaps as a proof of my believing the republick to be ruined) I shall speak for the future not often, or rather very seldom; so as to manage at the same time both his favour and my own leisure for study."

2. *In quâ ego fuisset*—Marcellus and Cicero were of the Pompeian party; after the battle of Pharsalia, Cicero accepted pardon of the conqueror; the high spirit of Marcellus and the ancient glory of his house would not permit him to receive any favours from a master. He retired to Mitylenae.

ego fuissem, non in eâdem esse fortunâ: nec mihi persuadere poteram, nec fas esse ducebam, versari me in nostro veteri curriculo, illo ³aemulo atque imitatore studiorum ac laborum meorum, quasi quodam socio a me et comite distracto. Ergo et mihi, meae pristinae vitae consuetudinem, C. Caesar, interclusam aperuisti, et his omnibus ad benè de omni republicâ sperandum, quasi signum aliquod sustulisti. Intellectum est enim mihi quidem in multis, et maxime in me ipso, sed paulò antè omnibus, cum M. Marcellum Senatui populoque Romano et reipublicae concessisti, commemoratis praesertim ⁴offensionibus, te auctoritatem hujus ordinis dignitatemque reipublicae tuis vel doloribus vel ⁵suspicionibus anteferre. Ille quidem ⁶fructum omnis anteactae vitae hodierno die maximum cepit, cum summo consensu Senatûs, tum praeterea judicio tuo gravissimo et maximo; ex quo profectò intelligis, quanta in dato beneficio sit laus, cum in accepto tanta sit gloria. Est verò fortunatus ille, cujus ex salute non minor penè ad omnes, quàm ad illum ventura sit, laetitia pervenerit. Quod

3. *Aemulo atque imitatore*—Marcellus was famous for his forensic talents, and of all the orators of his time seems to have approached nearest to Cicero in the character of a complete speaker.

4. *Offensionibus*—While Marcellus was Consul, he endeavoured to supersede Caesar in the command of Gaul; he afterwards endeavoured to get Caesar proclaimed *Enemy to his country*; in a public speech he called Caesar *Robber*; and, during the civil war, fought against Caesar.—These, says Guthrie, with some others of smaller consequence, were the offences of Marcellus.

5. *Suspicionibus*—Caesar had entertained suspicions, that Marcellus intended to murder him.

6. *Fructum.....vitae hodierno die*—It should be remembered, that, before Cicero had risen to address Caesar, the whole Senate had paid the tribute due to the merit of Marcellus, by rising and warmly urging the request made for his return.

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ei quidem meritò atque optimo jure contigit ; quis enim est illo aut ⁷nobilitate, aut probitate, aut optimarum artium studio, aut innocentia, aut ullo genere laudis praestantior ?

II. Nullius tantum est flumen ingenii, nulla dicendi aut scribendi tanta vis, tanta copia, quae non dicam exornare sed enarrare, C. Caesar, res tuas gestas possit ; tamen hoc affirmo, et hoc ⁸pace dicam tuâ, nullam in his esse laudem amplio rem quàm eam, quam hodierno die consecutus es. Soleo saepè ante
 > oculos ponere, idque libentè crebris usurpare sermonibus, omnes nostrorum imperatorum, omnes exterarum gentium potentissimorumque populorum, omnes clarissimorum regum res gestas cum tuis nec
 < contentionum magnitudine, nec ⁹numero praeliorum, nec ¹varietate regionum, nec ²celeritate conficiendi, nec dissimilitudine bellorum posse conferri ; nec verò disjunctissimas terras citiùs cujusquam passibus potuisse

7. *Nobilitate*—The family of the Marcelli was of plebeian original ; but, by the hereditary merit of its individuals, had become *noble*. Those, whose ancestors or themselves had borne any Curule magistracy, that is, the Consulship, the Praetorship, the Censorship, or the office of Curule Aedile, were called *Nobiles* ; and of the family of the Marcelli six had been Consuls, of whom one was honoured with the Consulship five times, and another three.

8. *Pace*—Pardon, or permission.

9. *Numero praeliorum*—Pliny informs us, that Caesar had fought fifty pitched battles, and had slain 1,192,000 men. If the civil wars are added to the account, says a commentator, this ambitious monster (Caesar) must have made greater desolation in the world, than any tyrant perhaps, that ever lived.

1. *Varietate regionum*—Caesar had carried on war in Spain, Britain, Gaul, Egypt, Germany, Asia, Africa, and Greece. He conquered Pompey at Pharsalia ; Ptolemy in Egypt ; Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, in Pontus ; Scipio and Juba in Africa ; and in Spain the sons of Pompey.

2. *Celeritate conficiendi*—Such was the rapidity, with which Caesar made some of his conquests, that in describing one of them he said, "*Veni, Vidi, Vici* ;" I came, I saw, I conquered.

peragrari, quàm tuis, non dicam cursibus, sed victoriis lustratae sunt. Quae quidem ego nisi ita magna esse fatear, ut ea vix cujusquam mens aut cogitatio capere possit, amens sim : sed tamen sunt alia majora. Nam bellicas laudes solent quidam extenuare verbis, easque detrahère ducibus, communicare cum militibus, ne propriae sint imperatorum ; et certè in armis, militum virtus, locorum opportunitas, auxilia sociorum, classes, commeatus multùm juvant ; maximam verò partem quasi suo jure Fortuna sibi vindicat, et quidquid est prosperè gestum, id penè omne ducit suum. At verò ³hujus gloriae, C. Caesar, quam es paulò antè adeptus, socium habes neminem ; totum hoc, quantumcunque est, quod certè maximum est, totum est, inquam, tuum ; nihil sibi ex istà laude ⁴centurio, nihil praefectus, nihil cohors, nihil turma decerpit ; quin etiam illa ipsa rerum humanarum domina Fortuna in istius se societatem gloriae non offert : tibi cedit ; tuam esse totam et propriam fateatur ; nunquam enim temeritas cum sapientiâ commiscetur, nec ad consilium casus admittitur.

III. Domuisti ⁵gentes immanitate barbaras, mul-

3. *Hujus gloriae*.—The glory of pardoning a man, whom he supposed an enemy to him.

4. *Centurio.....praefectus, etc.*.—The Roman army was formed into legions ; each legion was divided into ten cohorts, each cohort into three maniples, and each manipulus into two centuries. There were also 300 cavalry usually joined to each legion. These were divided into ten *turmae*, or troops, and each *turma* into three *decuriae*, or bodies of ten men. The *Centuriones* were the officers, who commanded the centuries : the *Praefecti* were appointed to command the allies, and seem to have had powers similar to those of the legionary Tribunes, the number of whom was six in each legion, each of whom had under his command a thousand men.

5. *Gentes.....barbaras*.—Gauls, Britons, Germans, Africans, and Egyptians.

titudine *innumerabiles, locis infinitas, omni copiarum genere abundantes; sed ea tamen vicisti, quae et naturam et conditionem, ut vinci possent, habebant; nulla est enim tanta vis, [tanta copia] quae non ferro ac viribus debilitari frangique possit: verum animum vincere, iracundiam cohibere, victoriam temperare, adversarium nobilitate, ingenio, virtute praestantem non modo extollere jacentem, sed etiam amplificare ejus pristinam dignitatem; haec qui faciat, non ego cum cum summis viris comparo, sed *simillimum deo judico. Itaque, C. Caesar, bellicae tuae laudes celebrabuntur illae quidem non solum nostris, sed penè omnium gentium literis atque linguis: neque ulla unquam aetas de tuis laudibus conticescet. Sed tamen ejusmodi res, nescio quomodo etiam dum audiuntur, aut dum leguntur, obstrèpi* clamore militum videntur, et tubarum sono. At verò cum aliquid clementer, mansuete, justè, moderatè, sapienter factum, in iracundiâ praesertim, quae est inimica con-

6. *Innumerabiles*—It is said that Caesar conquered four hundred different people in Gaul; but these nations probably were but petty tribes, like those of the savages of this country.

7. *Simillimum deo judico*—Cicero has been accused of flattery and insincerity in this oration, as well as in that upon the Manilian law. The only defence and apology we shall offer shall be extracted from the writings of his greatest panegyrist. "It should be remembered," says Dr. Middleton, "that he was delivering a speech of thanks, not only for himself, but in the name and at the request of the Senate, where his subject naturally required the embellishments of oratory; and that all his compliments are grounded on a supposition, that Caesar intended to restore the republic; of which he entertained no small hopes at this time, as he signifies in a letter to one of Caesar's principal friends. This therefore he recommends, enforces, and requires from him in his speech, with the spirit of an old Roman; and no reasonable man will think it strange, that so free an address to a conqueror, in the height of all his power, should want to be tempered with some few strokes of flattery." Of this defence every one will form his own opinion.

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silio, et in victoriâ, quae naturâ insolens et superba est, aut audimus, aut legimus; quo studio incendi-mur, non modò in gestis rebus, sed etiam in fictis, ut eos saepè, quos nunquam vidimus, diligamus? Te verò, quem praesentem intuëmur, cujus mentem sensusque et os cernimus, ut, quidquid belli fortuna reli-quum reipub. fecerit, id esse salvum velis, quibus laudibus efferemus? quibus studiis prosequemur? quâ benevolentiâ complectemur? parietes, mediusfidi-
us, C. Caesar, ut mihi videtur, hujus curiae tibi gra-tias agere gestiunt, quòd brevi tempore futura sit illa auctoritas in his majorum suorum et suis sedibus.

IV. Equidem cùm ⁸C. Marcelli, viri optimi, et commemorabili pietate [ac virtute] praediti, lachry-mas modò vobiscum vidërem, omnium Marcellorum meum pectus memoria effudit: quibus tu etiam mor-tuis, M. Marcello conservato, dignitatem suam red-didisti, nobilissimamque familiam, jam ad paucos redactam, penè ab interitu vindicasti. Hunc tu igitur diem tuis maximis et innumerabilibus ⁹gratulationibus jure antepones; haec enim res unius est propria C. Caesaris: caeterae, duce te, gestae magnae illae quidem, sed tamen multo magnoque comitatu; hujus autem rei tu idem et dux es et comes: quae quidem tanta est, ut tropaeis monumentisque tuis [nulla un-

⁸ C. Marcelli—The brother of Marcus Marcellus.

⁹ Gratulationibus—In his *Commentaries* Caesar informs us; that twenty-five days of congratulation were decreed to him for his suc-cesses in Gaul, and we are told by Dio, that after his civil wars forty days more were for like purposes decreed to him. But the day here spoken of, says Guthrie, was to be preferred to any of these; because on it he had extended mercy and forgiveness, which are personal virtues, and cannot, like the glories of war, be shared by others.

quam] allatura sit finem aetas ; nihil enim est opere aut manu factum, quod aliquando non conficiat et consumat vetustas ; at verò haec tua justitia et lenitas animi florescet quotidie magis, ita ut, quantum operibus tuis diuturnitas detrahet, tantum afferat laudibus. Et caeteros quidem omnes ¹victores bellorum civilium jam antè acquitate et misericordiâ viceras, hodierno verò die te ipsum visisti. Vereor, ut hoc, quod dicam, perinde intelligi auditu possit, atque ego ipse cogitans sentio. Ipsam victoriam vicisse vidēris, cū ea ipsa, quae illa erat adepta, victis remisisti ; nam, cū ipsius victoriae conditione jure omnes victi occidissemus, clementiae tuae iudicio conservati sumus ; rectè igitur unus invictus es, a quo etiam ipsius victoriae conditio visque devicta est.

V. Atque hoc C. Caesaris iudicium, P. C. quàm latè pateat, attendite : omnes enim, qui ad illa arma fato sumus nescio quo reipublicae misero funestoque compulsi, etsi aliquā culpâ tenemur erroris humani, a scelere certè liberati sumus ; nam, cū M. Marcel- lum, [†]deprecantibus vobis, reipublicae conservavit, memet mihi et item reipublicae, nullo deprecante, reliquos amplissimos viros et sibi ipsos et patriae reddidit ; quorum et frequentiam et dignitatem hoc ipso in consessu videtis : non ille hostes induxit in curiam, sed iudicavit, a plerisque ignorance potius et falso atque inani metu, quàm cupiditate aut crudelitate bellum esse susceptum : quo quidem in bello semper de pace agendum audiendumque esse putavi : sem-

1. *Victores bellorum civilium*—The victories of Sylla, Marius, Octavius, and Cinna were succeeded by sanguinary vengeance.

perque dolui, non modò pacem, sed orationem etiam civium pacem flagitantium ²repudiari. Neque enim ego illa, nec ulla unquam secutus sum arma civilia : semperque mea consilia pacis et togæ socia, non belli atque armorum fuerunt : hominem sum secutus privato officio, non publico : tantumque apud me grati animi fidelis memoria valuit, ut nullâ non modò cupiditate, sed ne spe quidem, ³prudens et sciens, tanquam ad interitum ruerem voluntarium. Quod quidem meum consilium minimè obscurum fuit ; nam et in hoc ordine, integrâ re, multa de pace dixi ; et in ipso bello eadem etiam ⁴cum capitis mei periculo

2. *Repudiari*—In a note upon this passage, Merouille says, Caesar was desirous of peace, Cicero advised it, and Pompey rejected it. It may be a fact that Caesar desired peace, but he desired only the peace of slavery, the nonresistance of tame submission to his imperious mandates ; and, although the general conduct of Pompey demonstrated, that he was neither a great politician, nor an able General, yet with manly indignation he rejected peace, as a republican should have done, upon such base conditions.

3. *Prudens et sciens ad interitum voluntarium*—Cicero in this sentence assigns for the whole reason of his joining Pompey what was only one of his inducements. He really thought that Caesar was an enemy to his country, and that the safety of the republick would be coexistent with Pompey's success. He therefore from political principle united himself to the Pompeian party. But he here tells Caesar, that he sided with Pompey from *private* not *public* motives, bound by ties of gratitude for the personal favours he had received from him, and that cool and conscious of his danger, he plunged into, as it were, voluntary destruction. This apology might have been successful ; but it is to be regretted, that talents so great, as those of Cicero confessedly were, should be employed in a service so dishonorable, as that of flattery and dissimulation.

4. *Cum capitis mei periculo*—The following comment has been made upon these words.—Cicero was not present at the battle of Pharsalia, nor was Cato, who staid behind also in the camp at Dyrrachium, which he commanded with fifteen cohorts, when Labienus brought them the news of Pompey's defeat ; upon which Cato offered the command to Cicero, as the superior in dignity ; and upon his refusal of it, as Plutarch tells us, young Pompey was so enraged, that he drew his sword, and would have killed him upon the spot, if Cato had not prevented it. Though this fact is not mentioned by Cicero, yet it is probable he refers to it in this passage.

sensi. Ex quo jam nemo erit tam injustus rerum aestimator, qui dubitet, quae Caesaris voluntas de bello fuerit, cum pacis auctores conservandos statim censuerit, caeteris fuerit iratior. Atque id minùs mirum videretur fortasse tum, cum esset incertus exitus et anceps fortuna belli; qui verò victor pacis auctores diligit, is profectò declarat, se maluisse non dimicare, quàm vincere.

VI. Atque hujus quidem rei M. Marcello sum testis; nostri enim sensus, ut in pace semper, sic tum etiam in bello congruebant: quoties ego cum et quanto cum dolore vidi cum insolentiam certorum hominum, tum etiam ipsius victoriae ferocitatem extimescentem? Quò gravior tua liberalitas, C. Caesar, nobis, qui illa vidimus, debet esse; non enim jam causae sunt inter se, sed victoriae comparandae. Vidimus tuam victoriam praeliorum exitu terminatam: gladium vaginâ vacuum in urbe non vidimus: quos amissimus cives, eos Martis vis percussit, non ira victoriae: ut dubitare debeat nemo, quin multos, si fieri posset, C. Caesar ab inferis excitaret; quoniam ex eadem acie, conservat quos potest. Alterius verò partis nihil ampliùs dicam, quàm id, quòd omnes verebamur, nimis iracundam futuram fuisse victoriam; quidam enim non modò armatis, sed interdum etiam otiosis minabantur: nec, quid quisque sensisset, sed ubi fuisset, cogitandum esse dicebant: ut

5. *Insolentiam certorum hominum*—These were Antony, L. Lentulus, L. Domitius Aenobarbus, and Curius. The compliments paid to Caesar's clemency were in part deserved, as it is probable, that, if Pompey's party had succeeded, victory and its consequences would have been more bloody.

6. *Alterius partis*—The party of Pompey and the Senate.

mihi quidem videantur dii immortales, etiā si poenas a populo Romano ob aliquod delictum expetiverunt, qui civile bellum tantum et tam luctuosum excitaverunt, vel placati jam, vel etiam satiati aliquando omnem spem salutis ad clementiam victoris et sapientiam contulisse. Quare gaude tuo isto tam excellenti bono, et frūere cum fortunā et gloriā, tum etiam naturā et moribus tuis : ex quo quidem maximus est fructus jucunditasque sapienti ; cætera cum tua recordabere, etsi persæpè virtuti, tamen plerumque felicitati tuæ gratulabere : de nobis, quos in repub. tecum simul salvos esse voluisti, quoties cogitabis, toties de maximis tuis beneficiis, toties de incredibili liberalitate, toties de singulari sapientiā tuā cogitabis : quæ non modò summa bona, sed nimirum audēbo vel sola dicere ; tantus est enim splendor in laude verā, tanta in magnitudine animi et consilii dignitas, ut hæc a virtute donata, cætera a fortuna commodata esse videantur. Noli igitur in conservandis bonis viris defatigari, non cupiditate præsertim aut pravitate aliquā lapsis, sed *opinione officii, stultā fortasse, certè non improbā, et specie quādam reipublicæ ; non enim tua ulla culpa est, si te aliqui timuerunt ; contrāque summa laus, quòd plerique minimè timendum fuisse senserunt.

VII. Nunc verò venio ad gravissimam *querelam

7. *Excellenti bono*—By these words Cicero means Caesar's great clemency.

8. *Opinione.....stultā fortasse*—It would have been better to have omitted the word *stulta*. Caesar might have been praised for his clemency, without hearing the republican opinions of his antagonist degraded by the appellation of *folly*.

9. *Querelam.....suspicionem*—Caesar, as has been before mentioned, suspected that Marcellus still harboured evil designs against him.

et atrocissimam suspicionem tuam ; quae non tibi ipsi magis, quàm cum omnibus civibus, tum maxime nobis, qui a te conservati sumus, providenda est ; quam etsi spero esse falsam, nunquam tamen verbis extenuabo : tua enim cautio nostra cautio est ; ut, si in alterutro peccandum sit, malim vidēri nimis timidus, quàm parùm prudens : sed quisnam est iste tam demens ? de tuisne ? tametsi qui magis sunt tui, quàm quibus tu salutem insperantibus reddidisti ? an ex eo numero, qui unà tecum fuerunt ? non est credibilis tantus in ullo furor, ut, quo duce omnia summa sit adeptus, hujus vitam non antepōnat suae. At, si tui nihil cogitant sceleris, cavendum est, ne quid inimici : qui ? omnes enim, qui fuerunt, aut suā pertinaciā vitam amisērunt, aut tuā misericordiā retinuerunt : ut aut nulli supērsint de inimicis, aut, qui supērfuerunt, amicissimi sint. Sed tamen, cum in animis hominum tantae latebrae sint, et tanti recessus, augeamus sanè suspicionem tuam : simul enim augebimus et diligentiam ; nam quis est omnium tam ignarus rerum, tam rudis in repub. tam nihil unquam nec de suā, nec de communi salute cogitans, qui non intelligat, tuā salute continēri suam ? et ex unius tuā vitam pendēre omnium ? Equidem de te dies noctesque, ut debeo, cogitans, casus duntātaxat humanos et incertos eventus valetudinis, et naturae communis fragilitatem extimesco ; doleōque, cum respublica immortalis esse debeat, eam in unius mortalis animā consistere : si verò ad humanos casus incertosque eventus valetudinis sceleris etiam accedat insidiarumque consensus ; quem deum, etiam si cupiat, opitulari posse reipublicae credamus ?

VIII. ¹Omnia sunt excitanda tibi, C. Caesar, uni, quae jacere sentis, belli ipsius impetu, quod necesse fuit, perculsa atque prostrata : constituenda judicia, revocanda fides, comprimendae libidines, propaganda soboles : omnia, quae dilapsa defluerunt, severis legibus vincienda sunt. Non fuit recusandum in tanto bello civili, tantoque animorum ardore et armorum, quin quassata respublica, quicunque belli eventus fuisset, multa perderet et ornamenta dignitatis et praesidia stabilitatis suae ; multaque uterque dux faceret armatus, quae idem togatus fieri prohibuisset : quae quidem nunc tibi omnia belli vulnera curanda sunt, quibus praeter te mederi nemo potest. Itaque ²illam tuam praeclarissimam et sapientissimam vocem invitus audiui, satis te diu vel naturae vixisse, vel gloriae ; satis, si ita vis, naturae fortasse ; addo etiam, si placet, gloriae ; at, quod maximum est, patriae certè parum. Quare omitte, quaeso, istam ³doctorum hominum in contemnenda morte prudentiam ; noli nostro periculo sapiens esse ; saepè enim venit ad aures meas, te idem istud nimis ⁴crebrò dicere, satis te tibi vixisse ; credo : sed tum id audi-

1. *Omnia, etc.*—Cicero here advises Caesar to restore the republic, and correct the abuses of its constitution, and such was his address, that the advice was not displeasing to the despot ; but it was improbable that an usurper so ambitious of power, as was Caesar, should observe counsels so contrary to the designs, for the completion of which he had fought and slain above a million of men.

2. *Illam.....vocem.....satis te diu vixisse*—After having complained of the animosity of Marcellus, Caesar said, that he himself had lived long enough for either nature or glory. At this time he was in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

3. *Doctorum hominum*—The Stoicks, who pretended to despise death.

4. *Crebro dicere*—Suetonius relates, that Caesar had in reality given some of his friends reason to believe, that he did not wish to live longer, and that he did not regret the ill state of his health.

rem, si tibi soli vives, aut si tibi etiam soli natus esses ; hunc, cum omnium salutem civium cunctamque rempublicam res tuae gestae complexae sint, tantum abes a perfectione maximorum operum, ut fundamenta, quae cogitas, nondum jeceris. Hic tu modum tuae vitae, non salute reipublicae, sed aequitate animi defines ? quid, si istud ne gloriae quidem tuae satis est ? cujus te esse avidissimum, quamvis sis sapiens, non negabis. Parum-ne igitur, inquit, gloriam magnam relinquemus ? immo verò aliis, quamvis multis, satis ; tibi uni parum ; quidquid enim est, quamvis amplum sit, id certè parum est tum, cum est aliquid amplius. Quòd si rerum tuarum immortalium, C. Caesar, hic exitus futurus fuit, ut, devictis adversariis, rempublicam in eo statu relinqueres, in quo nunc est ; vide, quaeso, ne tua divina virtus admirationis plus sit habitura, quàm gloriae ; siquidem gloria est illustris ac pervagata multorum et magnorum vel in suos, vel in patriam, vel in omne genus hominum fama meritorum.

IX. Haec igitur tibi reliqua pars est ; hic restat actus : in hoc elaborandum est, ut rempublicam constituas, eaque tu in primis, cum summâ tranquillitate et otio, perfruare : tum te, si voles, cum et patriae, quod debes, solveris, et naturam ipsam expleveris satietate vivendi, satis diu vixisse dicito. Quid est enim omnino hoc ipsum *diu*, in quo est aliquid extremum, quod cum venerit, omnis voluptas praeterita pro nihilo est, quia postea nulla futura sit ? quanquam

5. *Vide, quaeso, ne tua divina virtus, etc.*—Cicero here deserves credit for his address, and the freedom of his caution.

iste tuus animus nunquam his angustiis, quas natura nobis ad vivendum dedit, contentus fuit : semper immortalitatis amore flagravit. Nec verò haec tua vita dicenda est, quae corpore et spiritu continetur : illa, inquam, illa vita est tua, Caesar, quae vigebit memoriâ saeculorum omnium, quam posteritas alet, quam ipsa aeternitas semper tuebitur : huic tu inservias, huic te ostentes oportet ; quae quidem, quae miretur jampridem, multa habet ; nunc, etiam quae laudet, expectet : obstupescant posteri certè imperia, provincias, Rhenum, oceanum, Nilum, pugnas innumerabiles, incredibiles victorias, monumenta, munera, triumphos audientes et legentes tuos ; sed nisi haec urbs stabilita tuis consiliis et institutis erit, vagabitur modò nomen tuum longè atque latè ; sedem quidem stabilem, et domicilium certum non habebit. Erit

6. *Nunc, etiam quae laudet, expectet*—The freedom of this remark also is to be commended. Caesar was without doubt a man of great abilities : posterity will long admire his talents ; but, as Cicero tells him, it ought to see something it can commend as well as admire.—Inextinguishable ambition and goodness are seldom companions.

7. *Imperia, provincias, etc.*—Caesar had commanded an army in Gaul, Britain, Germany, and Africa.—Spain after his Praetorship, and Gaul after his Consulship were the provinces assigned to him.—He first built a bridge over the Rhine, over which he passed his army, and conquered the Germans.—He first commanded a fleet in the Atlantick ocean, by which he carried his army into Great Britain.—He conquered Ptolemy king of Egypt, a country annually overflowed by the river Nile. For the number of his battles, see note 9th. p. 134. Monuments and statues were erected to him after his civil wars, and honours were paid to him as to a god.—As was usual after victories, he had given many presents to his soldiers, and had also entertained the people with feasts, theatrical exhibitions, etc.—He had triumphed five times.—But, notwithstanding all these things, says Cicero, who appears in this part of the oration with that dignity, which he always should have possessed when addressing Caesar, notwithstanding all these, your fame may be spread through the world, but it will never be stable, unless you strengthen this city by your councils, and guard it by your laws. For this passage, and the succeeding remarks, Cicero deserves great credit.

inter eos etiam, qui nascentur, sicut inter nos fuit, magna dissensio ; cum alii laudibus ad coelum res tuas gestas effèrent, alii fortasse aliquid requirerent, idque vel maximum, nisi belli civilis incendium salute patriae restinxeris ; ut illud fati fuisse videatur, hoc consilii. Servi igitur iis etiam iudiciis, qui multis post seculis de te iudicabunt, et quidem haud scio an incorruptius, quam nos ; nam et sine amore, et sine cupiditate, et rursus sine odio, et sine invidiâ iudicabunt. Id autem etiam si tunc ad te, ⁸ut quidam falsò putant, non pertinèbit, nunc certè pertinet, te esse talem, ut tuas laudes obscuratura nulla unquam sit oblivio.

X. Diversae voluntates civium fuerunt, distractaeque sententiae ; non enim consiliis solùm et studiis, sed armis etiam et castris dissidebamus. Erat autem obscuritas quaedam, erat certamen inter clarissimos duces : multi dubitabant, quid optimum esset ; multi, quid sibi expediret ; multi, quid deceret ; nonnulli etiam, quid liceret. Perfuncta respublica est hoc misero fatalique bello : ⁹vicit is, qui non fortunâ inflammaret odium suum, sed bonitate leniret ; nec qui omnes, quibus iratus esset, eosdem etiam exilio aut morte dignos iudicaret : ¹arma ab aliis posita, ab

⁸. *Ut quidam falsò putant*—Cicero here expresses his belief of the immortality of the soul.

⁹. *Vicit is, qui, etc.*—The moderation and clemency of Caesar appeared greater from contrast, as Pompey, who during the civil war affected to imitate Sylla, was often heard to say, *Could Sylla do such a thing, and cannot I do it ?* and was therefore supposed to be determined to make Sylla's victory the pattern of his own. His situation was similar to what Sylla's had been, and as he flattered himself with the same good fortune, he was meditating the same kind of return to Italy, & threatening ruin & proscription to all his enemies.

¹. *Arma ab aliis posita, ab aliis erepta sunt*—After the battle of Pharsalia, some of the Pompeian party laid down their arms, among whom was Cicero ; others followed Cato and Scipio into Africa, but being defeated there, their arms were taken from them.

aliis erepta sunt. Ingratus est injustusque civis, qui armorum periculo liberatus, animum tamen retinet armatum : ut etiam ille sit melior, qui in acie cecidit, qui in causâ animam profudit ; quae enim pertinacia est quibusdam, eâdem aliis constantia videri potest. Sed quia jam omnis fracta dissensio est armis, et extincta aequitate victoris ; restat, ut omnes unum velint, qui modò habent aliquid non solùm sapientiae, sed etiam sanitatis. Nisi te, C. Caesar, salvo et in istâ sententiâ, quâ cum antea tum hodie vel maximè usus es, manente, salvi esse non possumus. Quare omnes te, qui haec salva esse volumus, et hortamur et obsecramus, ut vitae, ut saluti tuae consulas : omnesque tibi, (ut pro aliis etiam loquar, quod de me ipse sentio) quoniam subesse aliquid putas, quod cavendum sit, non modò excubias et custodias, sed etiam laterum nostrorum oppositus et corporum pollicemur.

XI. Sed ut, unde est orsa, in eodem terminetur oratio mea ; maximas tibi gratias agimus, C. Caesar, majores etiam habemus. Nam omnes idem sentiunt, quod ex omnium precibus et lacrymis sentire potuisti. Sed quia ²non est stantibus omnibus necesse dicere, a me certè dici volunt, cui necesse est quodammodo, et quod volunt, et quod, M. Marcello a te huic ordini populoque Romano et reipublicae reddito, praecipuè id a me fieri debere intelligo ; nam laetari omnes, non ut de unius solùm, sed ut de communi omnium salute, sentio : quod autem summae benevolentiae est, quae mea erga illum omnibus sem-

2. *Non est stantibus omnibus necesse*—When any Senator spoke, he stood up, but when he only assented to what another was saying, he continued sitting.

per nota fuit, ut vix C. Marcello, optimo et amantissimo fratri, praeter eum quidem cederem nemini; cum id sollicitudine, curâ, labore tamdiu praestiterim, quamdiu est de illius salute dubitatum; certè hoc tempore magnis curis, molestiis, doloribus liberatus
 * praestare debeo. Itaque, C. Caesar, sic tibi gratias ago, ut omnibus me rebus a te non conservato solùm, sed etiam ornato, tamen ad tua innumerabilia in me unum merita, quod fieri jam posse non arbitrabar, maximus hoc tuo facto cinnulus accesserit. *

3. *Me.....non solum conservato, sed ornato*—Knowing Cicero to be an amiable man, from whom he had not much to fear, but might receive great benefit, Caesar with apparent pleasure pardoned and honoured him, after the battle of Pharsalia.

4.—Notwithstanding the honourable exertions of the Senate and Marcellus' friends in his favour, that illustrious Roman did not receive much benefit from their exertions and success. As he was returning to Rome he was basely assassinated at Athens, but by whose influence is unknown. Caesar has been much suspected of this secret villany, but Cicero acquits him of the accusation.

* *prope, etiam cinnulus.*

ORATIO PRO Q. LIGARIO.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS oration, which is said to have made Caesar tremble, was pronounced a short time after the oration for Marcellus was delivered, and was similar to that in its subject. The facts, which occasioned it, are as follow: Before there was an appearance of a civil war, Quintus Ligarius went into Africa in the capacity of Lieutenant to the Proconsul Caius Considius. So satisfactory was his conduct in this station, that when Considius departed from the province, he determined to gratify the inclinations of the people, and confide its government in the hands of Ligarius. Ligarius, after long and unavailing refusal, unwillingly received it, and resigned it with pleasure, when Attius Varus came to take possession of it. In the mean time the war between Caesar and Pompey commenced; and Lucius Tubero, with his son Quintus, was sent by the Senate into Africa to obtain provisions. Although Ligarius and Varus were of Pompey's party, as well as Tubero, they would not receive him, nor suffer him to put his sick son on shore. Being driven to Macedonia, Tubero then joined Pompey, and there took arms against Caesar; but, having seen his party ruined at the battle of Pharsalia, he abandoned his unsuccessful General, united himself to Caesar, and followed the conqueror to the Alexandrine and African wars. Afterwards when the war was concluded, and when Caesar had forgiven many, who had been opposed to him, the two brothers of Ligarius, who had ever been the friends of Caesar, and many of their relations interceded for his pardon. Caesar was much offended with Ligarius, and wished to reject the petition; but when he saw Cicero, Pansa, Brocchus, and others join in the request made for his pardon, he began to be inclined to grant it. At this time Quintus Tubero, son of Lucius, influenced by motives of revenge for not having been formerly received into Africa, and being therefore desirous to obstruct any favour, intended to be bestowed upon Ligarius, that he might effectually gratify his vindictive desires, brought forward an accusation against Ligarius, charging him with having prosecuted the war in Africa against Caesar with uncommon zeal and violence. Caesar, who was greatly exasperated against those, who through aversion to him had renewed the African war, was pleased by the accusation, and, being greatly prejudiced against the defendant, changed his former determination, and became resolved to sacrifice him to the gratification of his own revenge. Plutarch relates, that Caesar was so much prepossessed against Ligarius, that, when the trial came on, and he was told that Cicero intended to plead for him, he said, he saw no reason why he should attend to him, as it was evident that Ligarius was an enemy, and therefore criminal. He however permitted the orator to speak.

NOVUM crimen, C. Caesar, et ante hunc diem inauditum ¹*propinquus* meus ad te Q. Tubero detulit, Q. Ligarium in Africâ fuisse : id ²C. Pansa, praestanti vir ingenio, fretus fortasse eâ familiaritate, quae est ei tecum, ausus est confiteri. Itaque, quò me vertam, nescio ; paratus enim venëram, cum tu id neque per te scires, neque audire aliunde potuisses, ut ignoratione tuâ ad hominis miseri salutem abuterer. Sed quoniam diligentîâ inimici investigatum est id, quod latēbat, confitendum est, ut opinor, praesertim cum meus necessarius C. Pansa fecerit, ut id jam integrum non esset : omissâque controversiâ, omnis oratio ad misericordiam tuam conferenda est, quâ pluri mi sunt conservati, cum a te non liberationem culpaë, sed errati veniam impetravissent. Habes igitur, Tubero, quod est accusatori maximè optandum, confitentem reum : sed tamen ita confitentem, se in eâ parte fuisse, quâ te, Tubero, quâ virum omni laude dignum, patrem tuum. ³Itaque prius de vestro delicto confiteamini necesse est, quàm Ligarii ullam culpam reprehendatis. Q. igitur Ligarius, cum esset adhuc nulla belli suspicio, legatus in Africam cum proconsule C. Considio profectus est : quâ in legatione et civibus et sociis ita se probavit, ut decēdens Con-

1. *Propinquus meus*—It is unknown what connexion Tubero had with Cicero. The old scholiasts say, that he married a sister of the orator.

2. *C. Pansa*—Pansa was a famous orator, and had much influence with Caesar. He was very serviceable to those, who, having been friends of Pompey, supplicated Caesar's forgiveness.

3. *Itaque prius de vestro delicto, etc.*—Tubero himself had fought against Caesar : it was impossible therefore, that he could accuse Ligarius, before he confessed his own criminality.

sidius provinciâ satisfacere hominibus non posset, si quenquam alium provinciae praefecisset. Itaque Q. Ligarius, cum diu recūsans nihil profecisset, provinciam accepit invitus : cui sic praefuit in pace, ut et civibus et sociis gratissima esset ejus integritas et fides. Bellum subito exārsit : quod, qui erant in Africā, antè audiērunt geri, quàm parari ; quo audito, partim cupiditate inconsideratā, partim caeco quodam timore, primò salutis, pòst etiam studii sui, quae-rēbant aliquē ducem : cum Ligarius domum spectans et ad suos redire cupiens, nullo se implicari negotio passus est. Interim *P. Attius Varus, qui praetor Africam obtinuērat, Uticam venit : ad eum statim concursus est ; atque ille non mediocri cupiditate arripuit imperium : ⁴si illud imperium esse potuit, quod ad privatum, clamore multitudinis imperitae, nullo publico consilio deferebātur. Itaque Ligarius, qui omne tale negotium cuperet effugere, paulum adventu Vari conquiēvit.

II. Adhuc, C. Caesar, Q. Ligarius omni culpā vacat : domo est egressus, non modò nullum ad bellum, sed ne ad minimam quidem suspicionem belli : legatus in pace profectus, in provinciā pacatissimā ita se gessit, ut ei pacem esse expediret. Profectio certe animum tuum non debet offendere ; num igitur re-

4. *P. Attius Varus*—Varus was the first, who took possession of Africa on the part of the republick ; but, being afterwards defeated by Caesar, he fled with Sextus Pompeius into Spain, and was killed in the battle of Munda.

5. *Si illud imperium, etc.*—By a law of the people, the power of a magistrate must be conferred upon private persons by a decree of the Senate : Cicero therefore seems to doubt, whether the authority conferred by Considius upon Ligarius could with propriety be called *imperium*.

mansio? multò minùs : nam profectio voluntatem habuit non turpem, remansio etiam ⁶ necessitatem honestam. Ergo haec duo tempora carent crimine : unum, cum est legatus profectus ; alterum, cum efflagitatus a provinciâ, praepositus Africae est. Tertium est tempus, quo post adventum Vari in Africâ restitit ; quod si est criminose, necessitatis crimen est, non voluntatis. An ille, si potuisset illinc ullo modo evadere, Uticae potiùs quàm Romae ; cum P. Attio, quàm cum concordissimis fratribus ; cum alienis esse, quàm cum suis maluisset ? cum ipsa legatio plena desiderii ac solitudinis fuisset, propter incredibilem quendam fratrum amorem, hic aequo animo esse potuit, belli dissidio distractus a fratribus ? Nullum igitur habes, Caesar, adhuc in Q. Ligario signum alienae a te voluntatis ; cujus ego causam, animadvertes, quaeso, quâ fide defendam, cum prodo meam. O clementiam admirabilem atque omni laude, praedicatione, literis, monumentisque decorandam ! M. Cicero apud te defendit, alium in eâ voluntate non fuisse, ⁷ in quâ se ipsum confitetur fuisse ; nec tuas tacitas cogitationes extimescit ; nec, quid tibi de alio audienti de seipso occurrat, reformidat.

III. Vide, quàm non reformidem : vide, quanta lux liberalitatis et sapientiae tuae mihi apud te dicenti oboriatur ; quantum potero, voce contendam, ut

6. *Necessitatem honestam*—The command of the Proconsul Gensilius, and the importunate solicitations of the people imposed upon Ligarius a kind of necessity to remain in Africa.

7. *In quâ se ipsum*—It has been before mentioned, that Cicero had chosen the party of Pompey, because he thought it less dangerous to the republick, and that, notwithstanding his political principles, Caesar had pardoned him.

hoc populus Romanus exaudiat. Suscepto bello, Caesar, gesto etiam ex magnâ parte, nullâ vi coactus, *judicio meo ac voluntate ad ea arma profectus sum, quæ erant sumpta contra te. Apud quem igitur hoc dico? nempe apud eum, qui cum hoc sciret, tamen me, antequam vidit, reipublicæ reddidit: qui *ad me ex Aegypto literas misit, ut essem idem, qui fuisset: qui, cum ipse imperator in toto imperio populi Romani unus esset, esse *me alterum passus est: a quo, hoc ipso C. Pansa mihi nuncium perferente, concessos fasces laureatos tenui, quoad tenendos putavi: qui mihi tum denique se salutem putavit reddere, si eam nullis spoliata ornamentis redderet. Vide, quaeso, Tubero, ut qui de meo facto non dubitem dicere, de Ligarii non audeam confiteri. Atque hæc propterea

8. *Judicio meo*—The success, which attended Cicero's oration for Marcellus, induced him now to be more frank in declaring his motives for joining Pompey. Knowing Caesar's clemency, he forgets the ties of gratitude, and the friendly, not political principles, which, he once said, induced him to unite himself to the antagonist of Caesar, and hesitates not to declare publicly and in the very presence of the conqueror, that he voluntarily and with mature deliberation (*Judicio meo*) attached himself to that party, which fought for the republic. As Cicero was an amiable man, we regret he did not remember, that insincerity doubles our calamities.

9. *Ad me literas misit*—After the battle of Pharsalia, Caesar went to Egypt, where he remained some months. While he was there, he wrote to Cicero, expressing his good will toward him; but, before the reception of the letter, Cicero had written to his friend Atticus to request Balbus, Hircius, and Pansa to intercede with Caesar in his favour. The address of Caesar's letter was *Caesar Imperator M. Tullio Ciceroni Imperatori salutem*.

1. *Me alterum passus est*—Cicero, as has been before related, was sent Proconsul into Cilicia in the Consulship of Servius Sulpicius and Marcus Marcellus, where he defeated the Armenians and took the city Pindenissus. He also declared war against the robbers upon mount Amanus, and for his success against them was saluted with the title of *Imperator* by his soldiers. The next year he returned to Italy, where a civil war had commenced; but he still retained his power and remained Proconsul, by not going into Rome; for, as we are told by Ulpian, the Roman Commanders retained their authority, till they had entered the city.

de me dixi, ut mihi Tubero, cum de se eadem dicerem, ignosceret; cujus ego industriae gloriaeque faveo, vel propter propinquam cognationem, vel quòd ejus ingenio ²studiisque delector, vel quòd laudem adolescentis propinqui existimo etiam ad meum aliquem fructum redundare. Sed hoc quaero, quis putet esse crimen, fuisse in Africâ Ligarium? nempè is, qui et ipse in Africâ esse voluit, et prohibitum se a Ligario queritur, et certè contra ipsum Caesarem est congressus armatus. ³Quid enim, Tubero, tuus ille districtus in acie ⁴Pharsalicâ gladius agebat? cujus latus ille mucro petebat? qui sensus erat armorum tuorum? quæ tua mens? oculi? manus? ardor animi? quid cupiebas? quid optabas? Nimis urgeo: commoveri videtur adolescens: ad me revertar; ⁵iisdem in armis fui.

IV. Quid autem aliud egimus, Tubero, 'nisi ut' quod hic potest, nos possemus? Quorum igitur in-

2. *Studiisque delector*—It is said of Tubero, that he studied oratory and undertook to manage the causes of his clients, but was so completely defeated by the eloquence of Cicero in this oration, that he forsook the profession and dared no more to plead.

3. *Quid enim Tubero, etc.*—These interrogations compose the part of the oration, which is said to have made Caesar tremble. Suetonius however relates, that Caesar was subject to epileptick fits, which were attended with change of colour and trembling of the nerves, and that he was twice seized with these fits, when he was engaged in judicial proceedings—one of which times was perhaps while Cicero was pronouncing this oration. The words do not seem to possess sufficient energy to produce so powerful an effect.

4. *Acie Pharsalicâ*—Pharsalia was a town in Thessaly, famous for the decisive battle, which was there fought between Pompey and Caesar.

5. *Iisdem in armis fui*—Cicero was in the camp of Pompey at Pharsalia, but did not fight, as his infirm state of health would not permit him.

6. *Nisi ut, quod hic potest, nos possemus*—The meaning of these words is—but that we might have the power of doing what he can now do?

punitas, Caesar, tuae clementiae laus est, eorum ipsorum ad crudelitatem te acuet oratio? Atque in hac causâ non nihil equidem, Tubero, etiam tuam, sed multò magis patris tui prudentiam desidero: quòd homo cum ingenio, tum etiam doctrinâ excèllens, genus hoc causae quod esset, non vidèrit; nam, si vidisset, quovis profectò, quàm isto modo a te agi maluisset. Arguis fatentem: non est satis; accùsas eum, qui causam habet, aut, ut ego dico, 'meliorem quàm tu, aut, ut tu vis, parem. Haec non modò mirabilia sunt, sed prodigii simile est, quod dicam. Non habet eam vim ista accusatio, ut Q. Ligarius condemnnetur, sed ut necetur: hoc egit civis Romanus ante te nemo; externi isti mores usque ad sanguinem incitare solent odium aut levium Graecorum aut immanium barbarorum. Nam quid aliud agis? ut Romae ne sit? ut domo careat? ne cum optimis fratribus, ne cum hoc T. Broccho, avunculo suo, ne cum ejus filio, consobrino suo, ne nobiscum vivat? ne sit in patriâ? num est? num potest magis carere his omnibus, quàm caret? Italiâ prohibetur, exulat. Non tu ergo hunc patriâ privare, quâ caret, sed vitâ, vis. At istud ne 'apud eum quidè'm dictatorem, qui omnes, quos ode-rat, morte multabât, quisquam egit isto modo: ipse jubebat occidi, nullo postulante, praemiis etiam invi-

7. *Meliorem quam tu*—Better, because Ligarius against his will remained in Africa, while Tubero made voluntary exertions to get there, but did not succeed.

8. *Externi isti mores*—The criminal customs of the Romans during the continuance of the republick was famous in being sanguinary; no citizen could be put to death without the consent of the people.

9. *Apud eum dictatorem*—Sylla, when dictator, not only ordered many to be put to death, but also gave a reward of two talents (nearly 386l. sterling) to every one, who killed a proscribed person.

tabat; quae tamen crudelitas ¹ab hoc eodem aliquot annis pòst, quem tu nunc crudelem esse vis, vindicata est.

V. Ego verò istud non postulo, inquires: ita meherculè existimo, Tubero; novi enim te, novi patrem tuum, novi domum nomenque vestrum: studia denique generis ac familiae vestrae, virtutis, humanitatis, doctrinae plurimarum artium atque optimarum, nota sunt mihi omnia: itaque certò scio, vos non petere sanguinem: sed parùm attenditis: res enim eò spectat, ut ea poena, in quâ adhuc Q. Ligarius sit, non videamini esse contenti: quae est igitur ~~alia~~, praeter mortem? si enim in exilio est, sicùti est, quid amplius postulatis? an, ne ignoscatur? hoc verò multò acerbius multòque est gravius; quod nos domi petimus precibus et lacrymis, prostrati ad pedes, non tam nostrae causae fidentes, quàm hujus humanitati, id ne impetremus pugnabis? et in nostrum fletum irrumpes? et nos jacentes ad pedes supplicum voce prohibebis? Si, cum hoc domi faceremus, ²quod et fecimus, et ut spero, non frustrà fecimus, tu derepentè irrupisses, et clamare coepisses, C. CAESAR, cave credas, cave ignoscas, cave te fratrum pro fratris salute obsecrantium misereatur; non-ne omnem humanitatem exuisses? quanto hoc durius, quod nos domi petimus, id a te in foro oppugnari? et in tali miseriâ multorum perfugium misericordiae tollere?

1. *Ab hoc eodem*—The cruelty of Sylla was so abhorred by Caesar, that he passed a law, that they should be considered murderers, who should draw money from the treasury for having produced the head of a proscribed citizen.

2. *Quòd fecimus*—Cicero and others had privately and with much entreaty requested Caesar to pardon Ligarius.

Dicam planè, C. Caesar, quod sentio : si in hac tantâ tuâ fortunâ lenitas tanta non esset, quantam tu per te, per te, inquam, obtines, (intelligo quid loquar) acerbissimo luctu redundaret ista victoria ; quàm multi enim essent de victoribus, qui te crudèlem esse velent, cum ³etiam de victis reperiantur ? quàm multi, qui, cum a te nemini ignosci velent, impedirent clementiam tuam, cum etiam ii, quibus ipse ignovisti, nolint te in alios esse misericordem ? Quòd si probare Caesari possemus, in Africâ Ligarium omnino non fuisse ; si honesto et misericordi mendacio salutis civis calamitosi consultum esse vellemus ; tamen hominis non esset, in tanto discrimine et periculo civis, refellere et coarguere nostrum mendacium ; et, si esset alicujus, ejus certè non esset, qui in eadem causâ et fortunâ fuisset. Sed tamen aliud est errare Caesarem nolle, aliud nolle misereri : tum diceres, Cave, Caesar, credas ; fuit in Africâ Ligarius ; tulit arma contra te ; nunc quid dicis ? Cave ignoscas. Haec nec hominis, nec ad hominem vox est : quâ qui apud te, C. Caesar, utetur, suam citiùs abjiciat humanitatem, quàm extorquebit tuam.

VI. Ac primus aditus et ⁴postulatio Tiberonis haec, ut opinor, fuit, velle se de Q. Ligarii scelere dicere : non dubito, quin admiratus sis, vel quòd de

3. *Etiam de victis*—Tubero, one of the conquered, wished Caesar to be inexorable to Ligarius.

4. *Postulatio*—The manner of making an accusation in Rome was this ; the accuser summoned the person accused to court, where he desired of the inquisitors, that he might be allowed to produce his charge, and that the Praetor would name a day for that purpose. This *postulatio* or request was sometimes made in the absence of the defendant, but there were certain days appointed, on which the Praetor attended to these requests.

nullo alio quisquam, vel quòd is, qui in eàdem causà fuisset, vel quidnam novi facinoris adferret. Scelus tu illud vocas, Tubero? cur? 'isto enim nomine illa adhuc causa caruit: alii errorem appellant, alii timorem: qui durius, spem, cupiditatem, odium, pertinaciam: qui gravissimè, temeritatem: scelus, præter te, adhuc nemo. Ac mihi quidem, si proprium et verum nomen nostri mali quaeratur, fatalis quaedam calamitas incidisse videtur, et improvidas hominum mentes occupavisse: ut nemo mirari debeat, humana consilia divinâ necessitate esse superata. Liceat esse miseros, quanquam hoc victore esse non possumus: sed non loquor de nobis: de illis loquor, qui occiderunt; fuerint cupidi, fuerint irati, fuerint pertinaces; sceleris verò crimine, furoris, parricidii liceat Cn, Pompeio mortuo, liceat multis aliis carere. Quando hoc quisquam ex te, Caesar, audivit? aut tua quid aliud arma voluerunt, nisi a te 'contumeliam propulsare? quid egit tuus ille invictus exercitus, nisi ut suum jus tueretur, et dignitatem tuam? quid? tu 'cum pacem esse cupiebas, id-ne agebas, ut tibi cum

5. *Isto nomine adhuc causa caruit*—Cicero here speaks with manly openness. He was not afraid to pronounce what he thought.

6. *Contumeliam*—Caesar thought himself injured in three respects;—The province of Gaul was conferred on him for ten years, but, before that time had expired, a successor to him was appointed.—The Consulate was denied to him after he left Gaul.—After a victory the honour of a triumph was denied to him, and he was required to render an account of his administration.

7. *Cum pacem esse cupiebas*—It is said Caesar desired peace; if he had such desire, he wished a peace of that kind, to which no Roman should have submitted. Caesar was an ambitious man; from early youth he had but one object in view, and that was the acquisition of the supreme power of Rome. This he attained, and such was his address in attaining it, that Cicero either really believed, or pretended to believe, that he made war upon his country only to obtain satisfaction for the injuries, he thought he had received.—Hypocrisy and deception are engines which have often destroyed the best political and moral systems.

sceleratis, an ut cum bonis civibus conveniret? Mihi verò, Caesar, tua in me maximā merita tanta certè non viderentur, si me ut sceleratum a te conservatum putarem. Quomodo autem tu de republicā bene meritus esses, si tot sceleratos incolumi dignitate esse voluisses? Secessionem tu illam existimavisti, Caesar, initio, non bellum; non hostile odium, sed civile dissidium, utrisque cupientibus rempub. salvam, sed partim consiliis, partim studiis a communi utilitate aberrantibus. Principum dignitas erat penè par; non par fortasse eorum, qui sequebantur: causa tum dubia, quòd erat aliquid in utràque parte, quod probari posset: nunc melior certè ea judicanda est, quam etiam dii adjuverint; cognitā verò clementiā tuā, quis non eam victoriam probet, in quā occiderit nemo, nisi armatus?

VII. Sed, ut omittam communem causam, veniamus ad nostram. Utrum tandem existimas facilius fuisse, Tubero, Ligarium ex Africā exire, an vos in Africam non venite? Poteramus-ne, inquires, cum Senatus censuisset? si me consulis, nullo modo; sed tamen Ligarium Senatus idem legaverat. Atque ille eo tempore paruit, cum parere Senatui necesse erat: vos tunc parvistis, cum paruit nemo, qui noluit. Reprehendo igitur? minimè verò; neque enim licuit aliter vestro generi, nomini, familiae, disciplinae: sed hoc non concedo, ut, quibus rebus gloriemini in vobis, easdem in aliis reprehendatis. Tuberonis sors conjecta est ex S. C. cum ipse non adesset, morbo etiam impediretur: statuerat [se] excusare. Haec

8. *Senatus legaverat*.—The Proconsuls appointed their Lieutenants, but it was necessary the Senate should approve their appointment.

ego novi propter communes necessitudines, quae mihi sunt cum L. Tubrone : ⁹domi unà eruditi, ¹militiae contubernales, pòst affines, in omni denique vitâ familiares : magnum etiam vinculum, quòd iisdem semper studiis usi sumus. Scio igitur Tuberonem domi manere voluisse, sed ita quidam agebant, ita reipublicae sanctissimum nomen opponebant, ut etiam si aliter sentiret, verborum tamen ipsorum pondus sustinere non posset ; cessit auctoritati amplissimi viri, vel potiùs paruit : unà est profectus cum iis, quorum erat una causa ; tardiùs iter fecit : itaque in Africam venit jam occupatam. Hinc in Ligarium crimen oritur, vel ira potiùs ; nam, si crimen est prohibere illum voluisse, non minùs magnum est, vos Africam, omnium provinciarum arcem, natam ad bellum contra hanc urbem gerendum, obtinere voluisse, quàm aliquem se imperatorem esse maluisse. Atque is tamen aliquis Ligarius non fuit. Varus imperium se habere dicebat : fasces certè habebat. Sed quoquo modo se illud habeat, haec querela vestra, Tubero, quid valet ? recepti in provinciam non sumus : quid, si essetis ? Caesari-ne eam tradituri fuissetis, an contra Caesarem retenturi ?

VIII. Vide quid licentiae, Caesar, nobis ²tua libe-

9. *Domi una eruditi*—Cicero and L. Tubero were educated together in the same school.

1. *Militiae contubernales*—In the retinue of a Proconsul were comprehended his military officers, and all his publick and domestick attendants. Among these were the young noblemen, who went with him to learn the art of war, and to see the method of conducting publick business, who, on account of their intimacy, were called *contubernales*. Cicero and Lucius Tubero were *contubernales* under Cneius Pompeius Strabo in the Marsick war.

2. *Tua liberalitas*—Cicero knew that Caesar boasted of his clemency ; like a man of address, therefore, he omits no opportunity of complimenting him upon the possession of this virtue.

ralitas det, vel potiùs audaciae. Si responderit Tubero, Africam, quò Senatus eum sorsque miserat, tibi patrem suum traditurum fuisse : non dubitabo apud ipsum te, ^{cujus} id eum facere interfuit, gravissimis verbis ejus consilium reprehendere ; non enim, si tibi ea res grata fuisset, esset etiam probata. Sed jam hoc totum omitto, non tam ut ne offendam tuas patientissimas aures, quàm ne Tubero, quod nunquam cogitavit, facturum fuisse videatur. Veniebātis igitur in Africam provinciam, unam ex omnibus huic victoriae maximè infestam ; in quâ erat ³rex potentissimus, inimicus huic causae, aliena voluntas, conventus firmi atque magni : quaero, quid facturi fuissetis ? quanquam quid facturi fueritis non dubitem, cum videam quid feceritis. Prohibiti estis in provinciâ vestrâ pedem ponere ; et prohibiti, ut perhibētis, summâ cum injuriâ : quomodo id tulistis ? acceptae injuriae querelam ad quem detulistis ? nempè ad eum, cujus auctoritatem secuti in societatem belli venerātis. Quòd si Caesaris causâ in provinciam veniebātis, ad eum profectò exclusi provinciâ venissetis : venistis ad Pompeium ; quae est haec ergo apud Caesarem querela, cum eum accusētis, a quo queramini vos prohibitos contra Caesarem bellum gerere ? Atque in hoc quidem vel cum mendacio, si vultis, gloriari per me licet, vos provinciam fuisse Caesari tradituros, etiamsi a Varo et quibusdam aliis prohibiti essētis ; ego autem confitebor, culpam esse Ligarii, qui vos tantae laudis occasione privaverit.

3. *Rex potentissimus*—Juba, king of Mauritania, was very inimical to Caesar. He however was subdued.

IX. Sed vide, quaeso, C. Caesar, constantiam ornatissimi viri L. Tiberonis : quam ego, quamvis ipse probarem, ut probo, tamen non commemorarem, nisi a te cognovissem imprimis eam virtutem solere laudari. Quae fuit igitur unquam in ullo homine tanta constantia? constantiam dico? nescio an melius patientiam possem dicere: quotus enim istud quisque fecisset, ut, a quibus partibus in dissensione civili non esset receptus, essetque etiam cum crudelitatem ejectus, ad eas ipsas rediret? magni cujusdam animi atque ejus viri est, quem de suscepta causa propositaque sententia nulla contumelia, nulla vis, nullum periculum posset depellere. Ut enim caetera paria Tiberoni cum Varo fuissent, honos, nobilitas, splendor, ingenium, quae nequaquam fuerunt; hoc certe praecipuum Tiberonis fuit, quod ⁴justo cum imperio ex S. C. in provinciam suam venerat; hinc prohibitus, non ad Caesarem, ne iratus; non domum, ne iners; non aliquam in regionem, ne condemnare causam illam, quam secutus esset, videretur; in Macedoniam ad Cn. Pompeii castra venit, in eam ipsam causam a qua erat rejectus cum injuria. Quid? cum ista res nihil commovisset ⁵ejus animum, ad quem veneratis, ⁶languidiore, credo, studio in causa fuistis: tantummodo in praesidiis eratis, animi vero a causa abhorrebant. An, ut fit in bellis civilibus nec in vobis magis, quam in reliquis, omnes vincendi studio tenebamur? pacis equidem semper auctor fui; sed tum sero; erat enim amentis, cum aciem videres,

4. *Justo cum imperio*—See note 5th, page 151st.

5. *Ejus*—Pompey.

6. *Languidiore, etc.*—This is irony.

pacem cogitare. Omnes, inquam, vincere volebamus ; tu certè præcipuè, qui in eum locum venisses, ubi tibi esset pereundum, nisi vicisses : quanquam, ut nunc se res habet, non dubito quin hanc salutem antepōnas illi victoriae.

X. Haec ego non dicerem, Tubero, si aut vos constantiae vestrae, aut Caesarem beneficii sui poenitēret. Nunc quaero, utrūm vestras injurias, an reipublicae persequamini : si reipublicae, quid de vestrā in eā causā perseverantiā respondēbitis ? si vestras, videte ne errētis, qui Caesarem vestris inimicis iratum fore putetis, cum ignoverit suis. Itaque num tibi videor, Caesar, in causā Ligarii occupatus esse ? num de ejus facto dicere ? quicquid dixi, ad unam summam referri volo, vel humanitatis, vel clementiae, vel misericordiae tuae. ⁷Causas, Caesar, egi multas et quidem tecum, dum te in foro tenuit ratio honorum tuorum : certè nunquam hoc modo ; *Ignoscite, Judices : erravit : lapsus est : non putavit : si unquam posthac : ad parentem sic agi solet ; ad judices, Non fecit, non cogitavit, falsi testes, fictum crimen.* Dic te, Caesar,

7. *Causas egi tecum*—As the Forum was the grand school of business and eloquence, the scene on which all the affairs of the empire were determined, it was here, that those, who aspired to publick dignities, laid the foundation of their fortunes. Every ambitious man applied himself to pleading causes and to defending innocence in distress, as the surest means of gaining popularity. In this business Caesar is said to have been engaged from the 21st to the 39th year of his age. This man of great and universal talents neglected no method of gratifying his exorbitant ambition. Money, intrigue, hypocrisy, affectation of republican sentiments, theatrical exhibitions to the people, expensive entertainments, arms, etc. contributed to increase his popularity, and insure his success. Of his forensic abilities Quintilian says, that he spoke with the same force with which he fought, and that he was the only man, who, had he wished it, was capable of rivaling Cicero in eloquence.

de facto Ligarii judicem esse : * quibus in praesidiis fuerit, quaere ; taceo : ne haec quidem colligo, quae fortasse valerent etiam apud judicem : legatus ante bellum profectus, relictus in pace, bello oppressus, in eo non acerbus ; tum etiam fuit totus animo et studio tuus. Ad judicem sic agi solet ; sed ego ad parentem loquor, Erravi, temerè feci, poenitet : ad clementiam tuam confugio : delicti veniam peto : ut ignoscas, oro ; si nemo impetravit, arroganter ; si plurimi, tu idem fer opem, qui spem dedisti. An sperandi Ligario causa non sit, cum mihi apud te sit locus etiam pro altero deprecandi ? Quanquam neque in hac oratione spes est posita causae, nec in eorum studiis, qui a te pro Ligario petunt, tui necessarii.

XI. Vidi enim et cognovi, quid maximè spectares, cum pro alicujus salute multi laborarent : causas apud te rogantium gratiosiores esse, quàm preces : neque te spectare, quàm tuus esset necessarius is, qui te oraret ; sed quàm illius, pro quo laboraret. Itaque tribuis tu quidem tuis ita multa, ut mihi beatiores illi esse videantur interdum, qui tuâ liberalitate fruuntur, quam tu ipse, qui illis tam multa concedis. Sed video tamen apud te causas, ut dixi, rogantium valere plùs, quàm preces ; ab iisque te mōvērī maximè, quorum justissimum dolorem videas in petendo. In Q. Ligario conservando multis tu quidem gratum facies necessariis tuis : sed hoc, quaeso, considera, quod soles. Possum fortissimos viros, ⁸ Sabinos, tibi probatissimos, totumque agrum Sabinum, florem Italiae, robur reipublicae proponere : nōsti optimè homines ;

8. *Sabinos*—Ligarius seems to have been a Sabine.

animadvertē horum omnium moestitiā et dolorem ; hujus T. Brocchi, de quo non dubito quid existimes, lacrymas squaloremque ipsius et filii vides. Quid de fratribus dicam ? noli, Caesar, putare, de unius capite nos agere ; aut tres tibi Ligarii in civitate retinendi sunt, aut tres ex civitate exterminandi : quodvis exilium his est optatius, quā patria, quā domus, quā dii Penates, uno illo exulante. Si fraternē, si piē, si cum dolore faciunt, moveant te horum lacrymae, moveat pietas, moveat germanitas : valeat tua vox illa, quae vicit ; te enim dicere audiebāmus, nos omnes adversarios putare, nisi qui nobiscum essent ; te omnes, qui contra te non essent, tuos. Vides-ne igitur hunc splendorem, omnem hanc Brocchorum domum, hunc L. Marcium, C. Caesetium, L. Corfidium, hosce omnes equites Rom. qui adsunt ⁹veste mutata, non solum notos tibi, verum etiam probatos viros, tecum fuisse ? Atque his [maximē] irascebāmur, et hos requirebamus, et his nonnulli etiam minabantur. Conserva igitur tuis suos ; ut, quemadmodum caetera, quae dicta sunt a te, ¹sic hoc verissimum reperiatur.

XII. Quod si penitus perspicere posses concordiam Ligariorum, omnes fratres tecum judicares fuisse. An potest quisquam dubitare, quin, si Q. Ligarius in Italiā esse potuisset, in eādē sententiā futurus fuisset, in quā fratres fuerunt ? quis est, qui horum con-

9. *Veste mutata*—During the trial, the defendant and his friends changed their garments, as was usual.

1. *Sic hoc verissimum*—Caesar had said, that he thought all those on his side, who were not against him. He had reason to think so : in a civil war, in which the constituted authorities of government are attacked, there is a probability, that whoever is not inimical to the usurper, favours his designs,

sensum conspirantem et penè confectum in hac propè ætqualitate fraternâ non noverit? qui hoc non sentiat, quidvis prius futurum fuisse, quàm ut hi fratres diversas sententias fortunasque sequerentur? Voluntate igitur omnes tecum fuerunt: tempestate abreptus est unus: qui, si consilio id fecisset, esset eorum similis, quos tu tamen salvos esse voluisti. Sed ierit ad bellum: dissenserit non a te solùm, verùm etiam a fratribus: hi te erant tui. Equidem dum tuis omnibus negotiis interesssem, memoriâ tenet, qualis tum T. Ligarius quaestor urbanus fuerit erga te et dignitatem tuam: sed parùm est me hoc meminisse; spero etiam te, quæ oblivisci nihil soles, nisi injurias, quoniam hoc est animi, quoniam etiam ingenii tui, te aliquid de hujus quaestoris officio cogitantem, etiam de aliis quibusdam quaestoribus reminiscantem recordari. Hic igitur T. Ligarius, qui tum nihil cogit aliud, (neque enim hæc divinabat) nisi ut tu cum tui studiosam et bonam virum judicares, nunc a te supplex fratris salutem petit: quam hujus admonitus officio cum utrisque his dederis, tres fratres optimos et integerrimos, non solùm sibi ipsos, neque his tot at talibus viris, neque nobis necessariis suis, sed etiam reipublicae condonavérís. Fac igitur, quod de homine nobilissimo et clarissimo M. Marcello restituto fecisti nuper in curiâ, nunc idem in foro de optimis et huic omni frequentiae probatissimis fratribus: et concessisti illum Senatui, sic da hunc populo, cujus voluntatem carissimam semper habuisti: et, si ille

2. *In curiâ.....in foro*—In the senate-house Caesar pardoned Marcellus; the cause of Ligarius was tried in the Forum.

diſa tibi glorioſiſſimus, populo Romano gratiſſimus fuit ; noli, obſecro, dubitare, C. Caesar, ſimilem illi gloriae laudem quàm ſaeppiſſimè quaerere ; nihil eſt enim tam popolare quàm bonitas : nulla de virtutibus tuis plurimis nec gratioꝝ nec admirabiliꝝ miſericordiã eſt ; homines enim ad deos nullã re propiũ accedunt, quàm ſalutem hominibus dando : nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus, quàm ut poſſis ; nec natura tua melius, quam ut velis, conſervare quamplurimos. Longiorem orationem cauſa forſitan poſtulat, tua certè natura breviorẽ. Quare, cum utiliꝝ eſſe arbitꝝ te ipſum, quàm me aut quẽquam loqui tecum, finem jam faciam : tantũ te ipſum admonẽbo, ſi illi abſenti ſalutem dedẽris, præſentibus his omnibus te daturum. ³

3. This oration, which, M. Crevier ſays, is “indisputably one of the fineſt monuments of the ſkill and inſinuating addreſs of the great Roman orator,” was very popular. The ſucceſs, which attended it, made Tubero aſhamed of his conduct. An honourable teſtimony of the merit of the oration is, that Caſar pardoned Ligarius contrary to his will, and that the events, which afterwards happened, evinced, that Caſar knew correctly the character of Ligarius and his republican ſentiments, and that he had reaſon to expect from him future oppoſition, if he returned from exile. After his return, he lived in great confidence with Brutus, who found him a fit perſon to bear a part in the conſpiracy againſt Caſar ; but, happening to be taken ill near the time of its execution, when Brutus, in a viſit to him, began to lament, that he had fallen ſick in a very unlucky hour ; Ligarius, raiſing himſelf upon his elbow, and taking Brutus by the hand, replied ; *Yet ſtill, Brutus, if you mean to do any thing worthy of your ſelf, I am well.* Nor did he diſappoint Brutus’ opinion of him ; for we find him afterwards in the liſt of conſpirators.”

ORATIO PRO REGE DEIOTARO.

INTRODUCTION.

OF the facts relative to this oration we can learn but little from historians; even the character of Deiotarus seems not to be ascertained with accuracy; he is represented by some as amiable and virtuous, by others, as sanguinary and cruel. An incident, which has perhaps prevented the facts concerning the subject of this oration from being more fully and correctly known, is, that it was not delivered in the Forum, but privately before Caesar in a dwelling house. What we have been able to learn is, that king Deiotarus was Tetrarch of Gallograecia—that during the civil wars between Caesar and Pompey he assisted the latter—that after the battle of Pharsalia he abandoned his party—that, after having been stripped of part of his dominions, to atone for his offence, he was pardoned by Caesar—that during the wars in the east he entertained Caesar as his guest in the castle of Luceius—and that, after the civil contentions had been for some time composed, he was accused before Caesar by Philippus, his physician and slave, of having intended to assassinate Caesar, while he was his guest; of having for this purpose placed assassins in a room, into which he invited Caesar to enter and view some presents he had prepared for him, and also in a bath, in which he expected Caesar would bathe before he retired to bed; of having ever been an enemy to Caesar; of having levied an army against him; of having designed to send messengers to Caelius, a man professedly inimical to Caesar; of having sent to Caesar bad cavalry, and employed a *slave* as a horseman, which was forbidden by the Roman law; of having repeated an obnoxious Greek verse, when he heard that Domitius was shipwrecked and Caesar besieged; of having exulted so much, when this information was communicated to him, that he intoxicated himself with wine, and danced naked at an entertainment; and of having received from Blesamius, his friend and agent in Rome, letters containing slanderous tales concerning Caesar. We have also learned, that Philippus, the physician and slave, who preferred these accusations, was suborned by Castor, a grandson of Deiotarus, who was very inimical to the king, and was induced by motives of revenge for some private offence to design his grandfather's ruin. To defeat the intention of Castor, and to prove the charges of Philippus false, Cicero pleads with his usual address and success in the ensuing oration, which was delivered in the seven hundred and eighth year of Rome, and in the sixty-second of the orator's age.

CUM in omnibus causis gravioribus, C. Caesar, initio dicendi commoveri soleam vehementiùs, quàm videtur vel usus vel aetas mea postulare, tum in hac causâ ita me multa perturbant, ut quantum mea fides studii mihi adferat ad salutem regis Dejotari defendendam, tantum facultatis timor detrahât. Primum dico pro capite fortunisque regis : quod ipsum etsi non iniquum est, in tuo duntaxat periculo ; tamen est ita inusitatum, regem capitis reum esse, ut ante hoc tempus non sit auditum. Deinde eum regem, ¹quem ornare antea cuncto cum Senatu solebamus pro perpetuis ejus in nostram rempub. meritis, nunc contra atrocissimum crimen cogor defendere. Accedit, ut accusatorum ²alterius crudelitate, alterius indignitate perturber. Crudelis Castor, ne dicam sceleratum et impium, qui nepos avum in discrimen capitis adduxerit, adolescentiæque suæ terrorem intulerit ei, cujus senectutem tueri et tegere debebat ; ³commendationemque ineuntis ætatis ab impietate et scelere duxerit ; avi servum, corruptum præmiis, ad accusandum

1. *Quem ornare.....solebamus*—In an oration, which Cicero had before this time delivered in the Senate, (*De haruspicum responsis*) he praised the fidelity of Dejotarus to the Roman people, and said, that the Senate had often thought him worthy of the regal title, and that he had been much commended in the testimonials of the most celebrated Generals.

2. *Alterius crudelitate, alterius indignitate*—The inhumanity of Castor, and the worthlessness of the slave Philippus.

3. *Commendationemque ab impietate et scelere*—Among the Romans young men, who were ambitious of gaining reputation, often brought themselves into notice by accusing publick offenders. But, in this case, Cicero implies, Castor deserved rather abhorrence than praise, for endeavouring to gain distinction by the impiety of attempting to ruin his grandfather.

dominum impulêrit, et ⁴a legatorum pedibus abduxerit. Fugitivi autem dominum accusantis, et dominum absentem, et dominum amicissimum nostrae reipub. cumq[ue] videbam, cum verba audiebam, non tam afflictam regiam conditionem dolebam, quàm de fortunis communibus extimescebam. Nam, cum more Majorum de servo in dominum ne tormentis quidem quaeri liceat, in quâ quaestione dolor veram vocem elicere possit etiam ab invito; exortus est servus, qui, quem in eculeo appellare non possit, eum accuset solutus.

II. Perturbat me, C. Caesar, etiam illud interdum: quod tamen, cum te penitus recognovi, timere desino: re enim iniquum est, ⁵sed tuâ sapientiâ fit aequissimum. Nam dicere apud eum de facinore, contra cujus vitam consilium facinoris inesse arguere, si per se ipsum consideres, grave est. ⁶Nemo enim ferè est, qui sui periculi iudex non sibi se aequiorem, quàm reo praebeat. Sed tua, C. Caesar, praestans singularisque natura hunc mihi metum minuit. Non enim tam timeo, quid tu de rege Deiotarò, quàm intelligo, quid de te caeteros velis judicare. Moveor etiam loci ipsius insolentiâ, quòd tantam causam, quanta nulla unquam in disceptatione versata est, dico intra domesticos parietes, dico extra conventum et eam

4. *Legatorum pedibus*—Philippus had been in the service of Deiotarus' deputies, and perhaps in no more honourable a capacity, than that of a footman.

5. *Sed tuâ sapientiâ fit aequissimum*—Sufficient has already been said concerning Cicero's flattery to Caesar.

6. *Nemo enim fere est, etc.*—This observation is just, and Cicero deserves credit for suggesting it to Caesar. When a man is both judge and party in an accusation, there is great probability, that he will be more favourable to himself, than to the accused.

frequentiam, in quâ oratorum studia niti solent. Intuis oculis, in tuo ore vultuque acquiesco : te unum intueor : ad te unum omnis mea spectat oratio : quae mihi ad spem obtinendae veritatis gravissima sunt, ad motum animi, et ad omnem impetum dicendi, contentionemque leviora. Hanc enim, C. Caesar, causam si in foro dicerem, eodem audiente et disceptante te, quantam mihi alacritatem populi Romani concursus adferret? Quis enim civis ei regi non faveret, cujus omnem aetatem in populi Romani bellis consumptam esse meminisset? Spectare curiam, intuerer forum, coelum denique testarer ipsum. Sic, cum et deorum immortalium et populi Romani et Senatûs beneficia in regem Deiotarum recorderer, nullo modo mihi deesse posset oratio. Quae quoniam angustiora parietes faciunt, actiôque causae maximè debilitatur loco ; tum est, Caesar, qui pro multis saepè dixisti, quid nunc mihi animi sit ad te ipsum referre : quò facilius tum aequitas tua, tum audiendi diligentia minuat hanc perturbationem meam. Sed, antequam de accusatione ipsâ dico, de accusatorum spe pauca dicam ; qui, cum videantur neque ingenio, neque usu atque exer-

7. *Qui pro multis saepe dixisti*—In a note to a former oration, we have already observed, that Caesar in the early part of his life applied himself to the business of the bar.

8. *De accusatorum spe*—That the student may be able to judge more impartially of the character of Deiotarus and his accusers, we will quote an observation of a judicious commentator. “As to the facts laid down in this oration, we can say very little ; but, by what we understand from our author himself in other parts of his writings, the charges are not so destitute of probability and proof, as he would represent them. With regard to the characters, the one given of Deiotarus throughout this oration, I am apt to believe, is very much misrepresented ; for by all other accounts he appears to have been a monster of blood and cruelty ; since he put to death all his own children, and afterwards Castor’s own father, which may very well account for Castor’s appearing in this prosecution.

citatione rerum valēre, tamen ad hanc causam non sine aliquā spe et cogitatione venērunt.

III. Iratum te regi Deiotaro fuisse non erant ne-
scii : affectum illum quibusdam incommodis et detri-
mentis propter offensionem animi tui meminērant :
teque cum huic iratum, tum ⁹sibi amicum cognove-
rant ; cumque apud ipsum te de tuo periculo dicērent,
fore putabant, ut in exulcerato animo facilē fictum
crimen insidēret. Quamobrem hoc nos primū me-
tu, C. Caesar, per fidem et constantiam et clementiam
tuam libera, ne residēre in tē ullam partem iracundiae
suspiciemur. Per dexteram te istam oro, quam regi
Deiotaro hospes hospiti porrexisti : istam, inquam,
dexteram, non tam in bellis et in praeliis, quā in
promissis et fide firmiorem. Tu illius domum intrare,
tu vetus hospitium renovare voluisti : te ejus dii Pe-
nates regeperunt : te amicum et placatum Deiotari
regis arae focique viderunt. Cum facilē exorari,
Caesar, tum semel exorari soles. Nemo unquam te
placavit inimicus, qui ullas resedissee in te simultatis
reliquias senserit. Quanquam cui sunt inauditae
cum Deiotaro querēlae tuae ? Nunquam tu illum ac-
cusavisti ut hostem, sed ut amici officio parū func-
tum, quod propensior in Cn. Pompeii amicitiam fu-
isset, quā in tuam : cui tamen ipsi regi veniam te
daturum fuisse dicebas, ¹si, cum auxilia Pompeio,

9. *Sibi*—This word may be construed to *himself*, or to *themselves* ; it is most probable that the sense, in which it is here used, is to *himself*.

1. *Si....excusatione aetatis usus esset*—It is related, that Caesar told Deiotarus, " You are a very old man, Pompey is not to expect, that you are to take the field ; therefore I beg you will not go in person, though, if you please, you may send your troops ; nay your son at

vel si etiam filium misisset, ipse tamen excusatione aetatis usus esset. Itaque, cum maximis eum rebus liberares, perparvam amicitiae culpam relinquebas. Itaque non solum in eum non animadvertisti, sed omni metu liberavisti, hospitem agnovisti, regem reliquisti. Neque enim ille odio tui progressus, sed errore communi lapsus est. Is rex, quem Senatus hoc nomine saepe honorificentissimis decretis appellavisset, quique illum ordinem ab adolescentiâ gravissimum sanctissimumque duxisset, iisdem rebus est perturbatus, homo longinquus et alienigena, quibus nos in mediâ republicâ nati semperque versati.

IV. Cum audisset, Senatûs consentientis auctoritate arma sumpta, consulibus, praetoribus, tribunis plebis, novis imperatoribus rempublicam defendendam datam; movebatur animo, et vir huic imperio amicissimus de salute populi Romani extimescebat, in quâ etiam suam inclusam esse videbat: summo tamen timore quiescendum sibi esse arbitrabatur. Maximè verò perturbatus est, ut audivit consules ex Italiâ profugisse; omnesque consulares, (sic enim nunciabatur) cunctum Senatum, totam Italiam esse effusam. Talibus enim nunciis et rumoribus patebat ad orientem via, nec ulli veri subsequebantur: nihil ille de conditionibus tuis, nihil de studio concordiae et pacis, nihil de conspiratione audiebat certorum hominum

their head;" and that Deiotarus was so inveterate an enemy to Caesar, that he would not urge even old age as an excuse for not taking the field.

2. *Errore communi lapsus est*.—Cicero here artfully apologizes for Deiotarus without offending Caesar, by paying the tribute of flattery, which in a few lines follows, and by appearing to believe the plausible excuses Caesar had formed to justify his usurpations.

contra dignitatem tuam. Quae cum ita essent, tamen usque eò se tenuit, quoad a Cn. Pompeio ad eum legati literaëque venerunt. Ignosce, ignosce, Caesar, si ejus viri auctoritati rex Deiotarus cessit, quem nos omnes secuti sumus, in quem cum dii atque homines omnia ornamenta conguessissent, tum tu ipse plurima et maxima. Neque enim, si res tuae gestae caeterorum laudibus obscuritatem attulērunt, idcirco Cn. Pompeii memoriam amisimus. Quantum nomen ejus fuerit, quanta opes, quanta in omni genere bellorum gloria, quanti honores populi Romani, quanti Senatùs, quanti tui, quis ignorat? Tantò ille superiores vicērat gloriā, tantò tu omnibus praestitisti. Itaque Cn. Pompeii bellā, victorias, triumphos, consulatus admirantes numerabamus: tuos enumerare non possumus.

V. Ad eum igitur rex Deiotarus venit hoc misero fatalique bello, quem antè justis hostilibusque bellis adjuverat, quocum erat non hospitio solùm, verùm etiam familiaritate conjunctus: et venit vel rogatus ut amicus, vel accersitus ut socius, vel evocatus ut is, qui Senatui parēre didicisset: postremò venit ut ad fugientem, non ut ad insequentem, id est, ad periculi, non ad victoriae societatem. Itaque, Pharsalico

3. *In quem cum dii atque homines, etc.*—Envy and emulation cease with the life of the person envied and rivalled. An ambitious man, therefore, will bear without being offended the praises bestowed upon a deceased enemy, which, had the enemy been living, would have induced him to inflict upon the panegyrist the dictates of the severest vengeance. The encomiums Cicero here pronounces upon Pompey were without doubt rather pleasing than offensive to Caesar; the more Pompey was extolled, the more merit the conqueror of Pompey attributed to himself. Cicero, therefore, who well knew the effect of compliments, deserves here more credit for his knowledge of mankind, than for the freedom of his praises of Pompey.

praelio facto, a Pompeio discessit : spem infinitam persequi noluit : vel officio, si quid debuérat ; vel errori, si quid nescierat, satisfactum esse duxit : domum se contulit : teque ⁴Alexandrinum bellum gerente, utilitatibus tuis paruit. Ille exercitum ⁵Cn. Domitii, amplissimi viri, suis tectis et copiis sustentavit : ille Ephesum ad eum, quem tu ex tuis fidelissimum et probatissimum omnibus delegisti, pecuniam misit : ille iterum, ille tertio auctionibus factis pecuniam dedit, quâ ad bellum uterêris : ille corpus suum periculo objecit, tecumque in acie contra Pharnacem fuit, tuumque hostem esse duxit suum. Quae quidem a te in eam partem accepta sunt, C. Caesar, ut eum amplissimo regis honore et nomine affeceris. Is igitur non modò a te periculo liberatus, sed etiam honore amplissimo ornatus, arguitur domi te suae interficere voluisse. Quod tu, nisi eum furiosissimum judicas, suspicari profectò non potes. Ut enim omittam, cujus tanti sceleris fuerit in conspectu deorum Penatum necare hospitem : cujus tantae importunitatis, omnium gentium atque omnis

4. *Alexandrinum bellum*—After the battle of Pharsalia, Caesar immediately set sail for Egypt, to which country Pompey had fled after his defeat. Upon his landing, the first news he received informed of Pompey's miserable end. He wept, when he heard the account, and shortly after ordered a magnificent tomb to be built to his memory. At this time there were two pretenders to the crown of Egypt, Ptolemy, the acknowledged king, and the celebrated Cleopatra, his sister. Caesar ordered both of them to maintain their pretensions before him. Photinus, the young king's guardian, disdained accepting this proposal, and sent an army of twenty thousand men to attack Caesar in Alexandria. Thus commenced the Alexandrine war, which, having continued for some months with various fortune, at length terminated in Caesar's subduing Egypt.

5. *Cn. Domitii*—When victory had declared itself for Caesar at Pharsalia, he made Domitius Lieutenant over Asia and the neighbouring provinces.

memoriae clarissimum lumen extinguere : cujus tantae ferocitatis, victorem orbis terrarum non extimescere : cujus tam inhumani et ingrati animi, a quo rex appellatus esset, in eum, tyrannum inveniri : ut haec omittam, cujus tanti furoris fuit, omnes reges, quorum multi erant finitimi, omnes liberos populos, omnes socios, omnes provincias, omnia denique omnium arma contra se unum excitare ? Quonam ille modo cum regno, cum domo, cum conjuge, cum carissimo filio distractus esset, tanto scelere non modò perfecto, sed etiam cogitato ? At, credo, haec homo inconsultus et temerarius non videbat.

VI. Quis consideratior illo ? Quis tectior ? Quis prudentior ? Quanquam hoc loco Deiotarum non tam ingenio et prudentiâ, quam fide et religione vitae defendendum puto. Nota tibi est, C. Caesar, hominis probitas, noti mores, nota constantia. Cui porrò, qui modò populi Romani nomen audivit, Deiotari probitas, integritas, gravitas, virtus, fides non sit audita ? Quod igitur facinus nec in hominem imprudentem cadere posset, propter metum praesentis exitii, nec in facinorosum, nisi esset idem amentissimus, id vos et a viro optimo, et ab homine minimè stulto cogitatum esse confingitis. At quàm non modò non credibiliter, sed ne suspiciosè quidem ! Cum, in castellum Luceium venisses, et domum regis, hospitis tui, divertisses, locus erat quidam, in quo erant ea composita, quibus rex te munerare constituerat : huc te a balneo, priùs quàm accumberes, ducere volebat ; ibi enim erant armati, qui te interficerent, in eo ipso

6. *A balneo*—It was customary among the ancients to bathe before supper.

loco collocati. En crimen, en causa, cur regem fugitivus, dominum servus accuset. Ego meherculè, C. Caesar, initio, cum est ad me ista causa delata, Philippum medicum, servum regium, qui cum legatis missus esset, ab ipso adolescente esse corruptum, hac suspitione sum percussus : medicum indicem subornabit : finget videlicet aliquod crimen veneni : et si a veritate longè, tamen a consuetudine criminandi non multum res abhorrebat. Quid ait medicus ? nihil de veneno ; at id fieri potuit, primò occultius in potione vel in cibo ; deinde etiam impuniùs fit, quod, cum est factum, negari potest. Si palàm te intermisisset, omnium in se gentium non solum odia, sed etiam arma convertisset : si veneno, Jovis illius quidem hospitalis numen nunquam celare potuisset, homines verò fortasse celavisset. Quod igitur et occultius conari et efficere cautiùs potuit ; id tibi, et medico callido et servo, ut putabat, fideli non credidit ; de armis, de ferro, de insidiis celare te noluit ? At quàm festivè crimen contextitur ? Tua te, inquit, eadem, quae semper, fortuna servavit. Negavisti tum te inspicere velle.

VII. Quid postea ? An Deiotarus, re illo tempore non perfectà, continuò dimisit exercitum ? Nullus erat alius insidiandi locus ? At eòdem te, cum coenavisses, redditurum dixerás : itaque fecisti. Horam unam aut duas eodem loco armatos, ut collocati fuerant, retinere magnum fuit ? Cum in convivio comitèr et jucundè fuisses, tum illuc ivisti, ut dixerás. Quo in loco Deiotarum talem erga te cognovisti, qualis rex Attalus in P. Africanum fuit : cui magnificentissima dona, ut scriptum legimus, usque ad Numantiam

misit ex Asiâ : quae Africanus, inspectante exercitu, accepit. Quod cum praesens Deiotarus regio et animo et more fecisset, tu in cubiculum discessisti. Obsecro, C. Caesar, repete temporis illius memoriam : pone illum ante oculos diem, vultus hominum te intuentium atque admirantium recordare. Num quae trepidatio? Num qui tumultus? Num quid, nisi moderatè, nisi quietè, nisi ex hominis gravissimi et sanctissimi disciplinâ? Quid igitur causae excogitari potest, cui te laetum voluerit, coenatum noluerit occidere? In posterum, inquit, diem distulit, ut cum in castellum Luceium ventum esset, ibi cogitata perficeret. Non video causam loci mutandi, sed tamen acta res criminose est. Cum, inquit, vomere post coenam velle te dixisses, in balneum te ducere coeperunt : ibi enim erant insidiae. At te eadem tua fortuna servavit. In cubiculum te ire malle dixisti. Dii te perdant, fugitive! ita non modò nequam et improbus, sed et fatuus et amens es. Quid? Ille signa aenea in insidiis posuerat, quae e balneo in cubiculum transferri non possent? Habes crimina insidiarum : nihil enim dixit ampliùs. Horum, inquit, eram conscius. Quid tum? Ita demens ille erat, ut eum, quem conscium tanti sceleris habebat, a se dimitteret? Romam etiam mitteret, ubi et inimicissimum sciret esse nepotem suum et C. Caesarem, cui fecisset insidias; praesertim cum is unus esset, qui posset de absente se vindicare; et fratres meos, inquit, quod erant conscii, in vincula conjecit. Cum

7. *Vomere post coenam*—To vomit after supper was usual. Supper, as has been before mentioned, was the principal meal among the Romans.

igitur eos vinciret, quos secum habebat, te solum Romam mittebat, qui eadem scires, quae illos scire dicis?

VIII. *Reliqua pars accusationis duplex fuit : una, regem semper in speculis fuisse, cum a te animo esset alieno : altera, exercitum eum contra te magnum comparasse. De exercitu dicam breviter, ut caetera. Nunquam eas copias rex Deiotarus habuit, quibus inferre bellum populo Rom. posset ; sed quibus fines suos ab excursionibus hostium et latrociniiis tueretur, et imperatoribus nostris auxilia mitteret. Atque antea quidem majores copias alere poterat ; nunc exiguas vix tueri potest. At misit ad Caelium nescio quem : sed eos, quos misit, quod ire noluerunt, in vincula conjecit. Non quaero quàm verisimile sit, aut non habuisse regem, quos mitteret : aut eos, quos misisset, non paruisse : aut, qui dicto audientes in tantâ re non fuissent, eos vinctos potiùs quàm necatos fuisse. Sed tamen, cum ad Caelium mittebat, utrùm causam illam victam esse nesciebat, an Caelium istum magnum hominem putabât ? quem profectò is, qui optimè nostros homines novit, vel quia nôsset, vel quia non nôsset, contemneret. Addidit etiam illud, equites non optimos misisse tibi. Veteres, credo, Caesar. Nihil ad tuum equitatum : sed misit ex iis, quos habuit electos. Ait nescio quem ex eo numero servum judicatum. Non arbitror ; non audiui ; sed in eo etiam si accidisset, culpam regis nullam fuisse arbitrarer.

IX. Alieno autem a te animo fuit : quomodo ?

8. *Reliqua pars, etc.*—The ingenuity of Cicero's reasoning in refuting the accusations deserve the student's accurate attention. The argumentation is so plain, that it needs no comment or illustration.

Speravit, credo, difficiles tibi Alexandriae fore exitus, propter regionis naturam et fluminis. At eo ipso tempore pecuniam dedit, exercitum aluit : quem Asiae praefeceras, ei nullâ in re defuit : tibi victori non solùm ad hospitium, sed ad periculum etiam atque ad aciem praestò fuit. Secutum est bellum Africanum : graves de te rumores sparsi : qui etiam furiosum illum Caelium excitaverunt. Quo tum erga te rex animo fuit, qui auctionatus sit, seseque et filium suum expoliare maluerit, quàm tibi pecuniam non subministrare ? At eo, inquit, tempore ipso Niceam Ephesumque mittebat, qui rumores Africanos exciperent, et celeritèr ad se referrent. Itaque, cum esset ei nunciatum, Domitium naufragio periisse, te in castello circumsideri ; de Domitio dixit verum Graecum eadem sententiâ, quâ etiam nos habemus Latinum, *Pereant amici, dum una inimici intercidant* : quod ille, si tibi esset inimicissimus, nunquam tamen dixissèt. ⁹Ipse enim mansuetus ; versus immanis. Qui autem Domitio poterat esse amicus, qui tibi esset inimicus ? Tibi porrò inimicus cur esset, a quo, cum vel interfici belli lege potuisset, regem et se et filium suum constitutos esse meminisset ? Quid deinde ? Farcifer quò progreditur ? Ait, hâc laetitiâ Deiotarum elatum, vino se obruisse, in convivioque nudum saltavisse. Quae crux huic fugitivo potest satis supplicii adferre ? Deiotarum saltantem quisquam, aut ebrium vidit unquam ? Omnes sunt in illo regiae virtutes ; quod te, Caesar, ignorare non ar-

9. *Ipse mansuetus*—See note 8th, page 171st.

1. *Nudum saltavisse*—This was very reproachful among the Romans.

bitur: sed precipuè singularis et admiranda frugalitas, etsi hoc verbo scip laudari reges non solere. Frugi hominem dici non multum habet laudis in rege: fortem, justum, severum, gravem, magnanimum, largum, beneficum, liberalem, hae sunt regiae laudes: illa privata est. Ut volet quisque, accipiat: ego tamen frugalitatem, id est, modestiam et temperantiam, virtutem, esse maximam judico. Haec in illo est ab ineunte aetate, tum a cunctâ Asiâ, tum a magistratibus, legatisque nostris, tum ab equitibus Roman, qui in Asiâ negotiati sunt, perspecta et cognita. Multis ille quidem gradibus officiorum erga rempublicam nostram ad hoc regium nomen ascendit: sed tamen quidquid a bellis populi Rom. vacabat, cum hominibus nostris consuetudines, amicitias, res, rationesque iungebat: ut non solum tetrarcha nobilis, sed optimus paterfamilias, et diligentissimus agricola et pecuarius haberetur. Qui igitur adolescens, nondum, tantâ gloriâ praeditus, nihil unquam nisi severissimè et gravissimè fecerit, is eâ existimatione eâque aetate saltavit?

X. Imitari potiùs, Castor, avi tui mores disciplinamque debebas, quàm optimo et clarissimo viro fugitivi ore maledicere. Quòd si saltatorem avum habuisses, neque eum virum, unde pudoris pudicitiaeque exempla peterentur, tamen hoc maledictum minimè in illam aetatem conveniret; quibus ille studiis ab ineunte aetate se imbuerat, non saltandi, sed benè ut armis, optimè ut equis uteretur; ea tamen illum cuncta jam aetate exactâ defecerant. Itaque, Deiotarum cum plures in equum sustulissent, quòd

haerere in eo senex posset, admirari solebamus. Hic verò adolescens, qui meus in Ciliciâ miles, in Graeciâ commilito fuit, cum in illo nostro exercitu equitaret cum suis delectis equitibus, quos unâ cum eo ad Pompeium pater miserat, quos concursus facere solebat? Quàm se jactare? Quàm se ostentare? Quàm nemini in illâ causâ studio et cupiditate concedere? Cum verò, exercitu amisso, ego, qui pacis auctor semper fui, post Pharsalicum autem praellum suasor fuisset armorum non deponendorum, sed abjiciendorum, hunc ad meam auctoritatem non potui adducere, quòd et ipse ardebat studio ipsius belli, et patri satisfaciendum esse arbitrabatur. Felix ista domus, quae non impunitatem solum adepta sit, sed habet etiam accusandi licentiam. Calamitosus Deiotarus, qui et ab eo, qui in iisdem castris fuerit, non modò apud te, sed etiam a suis accusetur. Vos vestrâ secundâ fortunâ, Castor, non potestis sine propinquorum calamitate esse contenti.

XI. Sint sanè inimicitiae, quae esse non debebant. Rex enim Deiotarus vestram familiam abjectam et obscuram e tenebris in lucem vocavit. Quis tuum patrem antea, qui esset, quàm cuius gener esset, audivit? Sed quamvis ingrâtè et impiè necessitudinis nomen repudiaretis, tamen inimicitias hominum more gerere poteratis, non ficto crimine insectari, non expetere vitam, non capitis arcessere. Esto: concedatur haec quoque acerbitalis et odii magnitudo. Adeone, ut etiam omnia vitae salutisque communis atque etiam humanitatis jura violentur? ² Servum sollicitare.

2. *Servum sollicitare*—It was thought dishonourable to employ a slave in an accusation against his master; and so nice was the Roman

verbis, apud promissisque corrumpere, abducere domo, contra dominum armare; hoc est, non uni propinquo, sed omnibus familiis bellum nefarium indicere. Nam ista corruptela servi, si non modò impunita fuerit, sed etiam a tantâ auctoritate approbata; nulli parietes nostram salutem, nullae leges, nulla iura custodient. Ubi enim id, quod intus est atque nostrum, impunè evolare potest, contraque nos pugnare, fit in dominatu servitus, in servitute dominatus. O tempora! ô mores! Cn. Domitius ille, quem nos pueri consulem, censorem, pontificem maximum vidimus, cum tribunus plebis M. Scaurum, principem civitatis, in iudicium populi vocavisset, Scaurique servus ad eum clam domum venisset, et crimina in dominum delaturum se esse, dixisset; comprehendi hominem iussit, ad Scaurumque deduci. Vide quid intersit; etsi iniquè Castorem cum Domitio comparo: sed tamen ille inimico servum remisit, tu ab avo abduxisti: ille incorruptum audire noluit, tu corrupisti: ille adiutorem servum contra dominum repudiavit, tu etiam accusatorem adhibuisti. At semel iste est corruptus a vobis? Non-ne, cum esset productus testis, et cum tecum fuisset, refugit ad legatos? Non-ne etiam ad hunc Cn. Domitium venit? Non-ne, audiente hoc Serv. Sulpitio, clarissimo viro, qui tum casu apud Domitium coenabat, et hoc T. Torquato, optimo adolescente, se a te corruptum, tuis promissis in fraudem impulsus esse confessus est?

XII. Quae est ista tam impudens, tam crudelis, tam immoderata inhumanitas? Idcirco in hanc urbem

law upon this subject, that it did not allow much credit to be given to a slave's evidence.

venisti, ut hujus urbis jura et exempla corrumpères, domesticâque tuâ inhumanitate nostrae civitatis humanitatem inquinares? At quàm acutè collecta crimina? ³Blesamius, inquit, (ejus enim nomine, optimi hominis, nec tibi ignoti, maledicēbat tibi) ad regem scribere solebat, te invidiosè tyrannum existimari: statuâ inter reges positâ, animos hominum vehementer offensos: plaudi tibi non solere. Non-ne intelligis, Caesar, ex urbanis malevolorum sermunculis haec ab istis esse collecta? Blesamius tyrannum Caesarem scriberet? Multorum enim civium capita vidēat: multos jussu Caesaris vexatos, verberatos, necatos: multas afflictas et eversas domos: armatis militibus refertum forum: quae semper in civili victoriâ sensimus, ⁴ea, te victore, non vidimus: solus, inquam, es, C. Caesar, cujus in victoriâ ceciderit nemo, nisi armatus: et quem nos liberi in summâ reipublicae libertate nati, non modò non tyrannum, sed etiam clementissimum in victoriâ videmus ducem; is Blesamio, qui vivit in regno, tyrannus videri potest? Nam de statuâ quis queritur, unâ praesertim, cum tam multas videat? Valdè enim invidendum est ejus statuæ, cujus trophaeis non invidemus. Nam si locus adfert invidiam, nullus locus est, ad statuam quidem rostris clarior. De plausu autem quid respondeam? qui nec desideratus unquam a te est, et nonnunquam, obstupefactis hominibus, ipsâ admiratione compressus est: et fortasse eò praetermissus, quia nihil vulgare te dignum videri potest.

3. *Blesamius*—The friend and agent in Rome of Deiotarus.

4. *Ea, te victore, non vidimus*—No more need be said concerning Cicero's flattery to Caesar.

XIII. Nihil a me arbitror praetermissum, sed aliquid ad extremam causae partem reservatum. Id autem aliquid est, te ut planè Deiotaro reconciliet oratio mea. Non enim jam metuo, ne tu illi succenseas : illud vereor, ne tibi illam succensere aliquid suspicere ; quod abest longissimè, mihi crede, Caesar. Quid enim retineat per te, meminit, non quid amiserit : neque se a te multatam arbitratur : sed, cum existimaret multis tibi multa esse tribuenda, quò minùs a se, qui in alterà parte fuisset, ea sumeres, non recusavit. Etenim, si Antiochus magnus ille rex Asiae, cum, posteaquam a Scipione devictus, Tauro tenus regnare jussus esset, omnemque hanc Asiam, quae est nunc nostra provincia, amisisset, dicere est solitus, benignè sibi a populo Romano esse factum, quòd nimis magnà procuratione liberatus, modicis regni terminis uteretur ; potest multò faciliùs se Deiotarus consolari. Ille enim furoris multum sustinuerat, hic erroris. Omnia tu Deiotaro, Caesar, tribuisti, cum et ipsi et filio nomen regium concessisti. Hoc nomine retento atque conservato, nullum beneficium populi Rom. nullum judicium de se Senatùs imminutum putat : magno animo et erecto est, nec unquam succumbet inimicis, ne fortunae quidem. Multa se arbitratur et peperisse antea factis, et habere in animo atque virtute ; quae nullo modo possit amittere. Quae enim fortuna, aut quis

5. *Multis tibi multa esse tribuenda*—Caesar, like all other heads of parties victorious in revolutions, was obliged to distribute offices among his clamorous partisans. He made 14 Praetors, and 40 Quaestors ; he increased the Senate to 900, and created a great number of additional officers in other posts.

tus est ad te missus ; tum regum amicissimi, tum tibi etiam, ut spero, probati. Exquĩre de Blesamio, nunquid ad regem contra dignitatem tuam scripserit. Hieras quidem causam omnem suscipit, et criminibus illis pro rege se supponit reum : memoriam tuam implorat, quã vales plurimum : negat unquam se a te in Deiotari tetrarchiã pedem discessisse : in primis finibus tibi se præsto fuisse dicit, usque ad ultimos prosecutum : cum a balneo exisses, tecum se fuisse : cum illa munera inspexisses coenatus : cum in cubiculo recubuisses : eandemque assiduitatem tibi se præbuisse postridie. Quamobrem, si quid eorum, quae objecta sunt, cogitatum sit : non recusat, quin id facinus suum iudices. Quocirca, C. Caesar, velim existimes, hodierno die sententiam tuam, aut cum summo dedecore miserrimam pestem importaturam esse regibus, aut incolumem famam cum salute : quorum alterum optare, illorum crudelitatis est ; alterum conservare, clementiae tuae.¹

1. In defence of king Deiotarus Brutus also spoke. Caesar was pleased with the tribute of adulation, which Cicero, as usual, paid him, but was astonished at the boldness of Brutus. Brutus delivered the sentiments of a republican. Brutus had been the friend of Caesar ; but when Caesar heard the freedom of his address, he began to suspect, that Brutus would not with ease submit to his usurpation. The catastrophe of Caesar's life is well known. Cicero and Brutus however on this occasion succeeded. Deiotarus was pardoned.

ORATIO PRO ARCHIA POETA.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS elegant oration was delivered in the 692nd year of Rome, two years after the Consulship of Cicero, and one year after the entire defeat of Catiline and his accomplices. In early life Cicero had been placed under the tuition of Aulus Licinius Archias, a native of Antioch, and a man patronised by men of the greatest eminence in Rome for his learning, genius, and politeness. His fame and celebrity were so great, that Lucullus invited him to reside in his family, and gave him the privilege of opening a school in it, to which many of the young Roman nobility were sent to be educated. The prosperity of this popular poet and instructor, however, was interrupted by the malignity of an obscure person, of the name of Gracchus, or by the subornation of those, who persuaded him to acts of enmity against Archias. Sylvanus and Carbo had passed a law, which enacted, that those should be esteemed Roman citizens, who were admitted to the freedom of any of the confederated cities, who, at the time of the passing of the law, had a dwelling in Italy, and who claimed their privilege before the Praetor within sixty days. Upon this law, in the Consulship of M. P. Piso and M. V. Messala, Gracchus accused Archias; he said, that Archias lived in the city as a citizen, while he was not entitled to the rights of citizenship. He denied, that Archias was admitted to the freedom of any of the confederated cities, that he had an abode in Italy at the time the law passed, and that he had claimed the privileges of a citizen before the Praetor. In this oration, which was delivered before the Praetor, Cicero defends Archias, his friend and former instructor; he refutes the allegations of Gracchus, and proves that Archias was admitted to the freedom of Heraclea and other cities, that he dwelt in Italy at the time of the passing of the law, and that he claimed his privileges before the Praetor. The orator, however, does not confine himself to the defence of Archias, but with great beauty and elegance descants upon the praises of poetry in general, and upon the talents and merit of the defendant. According to Dr. Middleton, Cicero expected for his pains an immortality of fame from the praises of Archias' muse; but, by a contrary fate of things, instead of deriving any addition of glory from Archias' compositions, it is wholly owing to his own, that the name of Archias has not long ago been buried in oblivion. From the great character given by him of the genius and character of this poet, we cannot help regretting the entire loss of his works; he had sung in Greek verse the triumphs of Marius over the Cimbri, and of Lucullus over Mithridates, and was now attempting the Consulship of Cicero; but this perished with the rest, or rather was left unfinished and interrupted by his death, since we find no further mention of it in Cicero's later writings. At the time of delivering this oration, Cicero was in the forty-sixth year of his age.

SI quid est in me ingenii, Judices, quod sentio quàm sit exiguum; aut si qua exercitatio dicendi, in quàm me non inficior mediocritèr esse versatum; aut si hujusce rei ratio aliqua, optimarum artium studiis et disciplinâ profecta, ¹a quàm ego nullum confiteor aetatis meae tempus abhorruisse: ²earum rerum omnium vel in primis hic A. Licinius fructum a me repetere propè suo jure debet. Nam quoad longissimè potest mens mea respicere spatium praeteriti temporis, et pueritiae ³memoriam recordari ultimam, inde usque repetens, hunc video mihi principem et ad suscipiendam et ad ingrediendam rationem horum studiorum extitisse. Quòd si haec vox hujus hortatu praeceptisque conformata nonnullis aliquando saluti fuit; a quo id accepimus, quo caeteris opitulari et alios servare possemus, huic profectò ipsi, quantum est situm in nobis, et opem et salutem ferre debemus. Ac ne quis a nobis hoc ita dici fortè miretur, quòd alia quaedam in hoc facultas sit ingenii, neque haec dicendi ratio aut disciplina: ⁴ne nos quidem huic cuncti studio penitùs unquam

1. *A quàm nullum aetatis meae tempus abhorruisse*—Cicero devoted his leisure hours to the studies of philosophy and the belles lettres. In early life he cultivated his poetical talents and composed a poem in tetrameter verse, entitled *PONTIUS GLAUCUS*, which was extant at the time Plutarch composed his biography.

2. *Earum rerum fructum suo jure*—As Archias had improved his mind, Cicero thought that he was entitled to the benefit of his instructions.

3. *Memoriam ultimam*—Archias came to Rome, when Cicero was but five years of age, and became Cicero's instructor, while he was yet very young.

4. *Ne nos.....cuncti*—Some editions insert *uni*, others *curae et*, in the place of *cuncti*; but most editions have admitted *cuncti*. A literal translation of the sentence is—And let no one be surprised;

dediti fuimus. Etenim omnes artes, quae ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum, et quasi cognatione quâdam inter se continentur.

II. Sed ne cui vestrûm mirum esse videatur, me in ¹quaestione legitimâ et in iudicio publico, cum res agatur ²apud praetorem populi Romani, lectissimum virum, et apud severissimos iudices, tanto conventu hominum ac frequentiâ, ³hoc uti genere dicendi, quod non modò a consuetudine iudiciorum, verùm etiam a forensi sermone abhorreat; quaëso a vobis, ut in hâc causâ mihi detis hanc veniam, accommodatam huic reo, vobis, quemadmodum spero, non molestam; ut me pro summò poetâ atque eruditissimo homine dicentem, hoc concursu ⁴hominum literatissimorum, hâc vestrâ humanitate, hoc denique praetore exercente iudicium, patiamini de studiis humanitatis ac literarum paulò loqui liberius: et in ejusmodi personâ, quae propter otium ac studium minimè in iudiciis periculisque tractata est, uti propè novo quodam et inusitato genere dicendi. Quod si mihi a vobis tribui concedique sentiam; perficiam profectò, ut hunc A. Licinium non modò non segregandum, cum sit

that this should be said by me, because in him there is a different kind of genius, and not this mode and exercise of speaking; neither have I indeed ever devoted myself wholly to this study.

5. *Quaestione legitimâ*—Those causes were called *questiones legitimae*, which were provided for by the laws, and in which any one had a right to call the delinquents to a trial.

6. *Apud praetorem*—The Praetor Urbanus had cognizance of these actions.

7. *Hoc uti genere*—Cicero seems to have thought, that, if he could not move the judges by his arguments, he might insure his success by diverting them with the beauties of his imagination and the charms of his composition.

8. *Hominum literatissimorum*—The friends of Archias, and other literary characters attended this trial to hear the defence of Cicero and learn its success.

civis, a numero civium; verum etiam, si non esset, putetis ascendendum fuisse.

III. Nam ut primum ex pueris excessit Archias atque ab iis artibus, quibus ætas puerilis ad humanitatem informari solet, se ad scribendi studium contulit; primum ¹Antiochiæ (nam ibi natus est, ²loco mobili, et celebri quondam urbe et copiosâ atque eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis affluenti) celeriter antecellere omnibus ingenii gloriâ contigit; post, in cæteris Asiæ partibus cunctæque Græciæ, sic ejus adventus celebrabatur, ut famam ingenii expectatio hominis, expectationem ipsius adventus admiratioque superaret. Erat Italia tunc plena ³Graecarum artium ac disciplinarum: studiaque hæc et ⁴in Latio vehementius tum colebantur, quàm nunc iisdem in oppidis: et hîc Romæ propter tranquillitatem reipub. ⁵non negligebantur. Itaque hunc et Tarentini et Rhegini et Neapolitani ⁶civitate cæterisque præmiis donârunt: et omnes, qui aliquid de ingeniis poterant judicare, cognitione atque hospitio dignum existimârunt. Hâc tantâ celebritate

9. *Antiochiæ*—Antioch was the metropolis of Syria.

1. *Loco*—Family.

2. *Graecarum artium*—After the destruction of Carthage, the belles lettres and fine arts of Greece were introduced into Italy.

3. *In Latio*—Latium was a part of Italy situated near the banks of the Tiber. Rome was in this part of the country.

4. *Non negligebantur*—In the early ages of the republic, the wars and civil commotions of Rome made the acquisition of military talents to be considered as the only object of education. The old Romans rejected the arts and literature of Greece, because they thought they would make their sons effeminate. But in the later ages of the republic, when war was removed to a greater distance from the city, and Rome was tranquil, humanity, civility, the arts and sciences were cultivated by the citizens.

5. *Civitate*—The freedom of the city, or the privileges of a citizen.

famae cum esset jam absentibus notus, Romam venit, ⁶Mario consule et Catulo.; nactus est primum consules eos, ⁷quorum alter res ad scribendum maximas, ⁸alter cum res gestas, tum etiam studium atque aures adhibere posset; statim ⁹Luculli, cum ¹praetextatus etiam tum Archias esset, eum domum suam receperunt. Sed etiam hoc non solum ingenii ac literarum, verum etiam naturae atque virtutis fuit, ut domus, quae hujus adolescentiae prima fuerit, eadem esset familiarissima senectuti. Erat temporibus illis jucundus ²Q. Metello illi Numidico et ³ejus Pio filio: audiebatur a ⁴M. Aemilio: vivebat cum ⁵Q. Catulo,

6. *Mario consule et Catulo*—Marius and Catulus were Consuls in the 651st year of Rome; this oration was delivered in the year 692—forty one years after Archias came to Rome.

7. *Quorum alter*—This was the fourth Consulship of Marius. It has been already observed, that Archias sung in Greek verse the military exploits of Marius.

8. *Alter cum res gestas, etc.*—Of this Catulus Cicero makes honorable mention in his treatises *De Claris Oratoribus* and *De Oratore*. It seems from this passage, that he possessed literary taste as well as military talents.

9. *Luculli*—Lucius Lucullus and Marcus Lucullus were brothers. Lucius triumphed over Mithridates and Tigranes. (See oration for Manilian law.) Caius triumphed over Macedonia. Plutarch says, that Lucius Lucullus collected a large library, which was open to all men of learning.

1. *Praetextatus*—The *toga praetexta* was given to young men about the sixteenth year of their age. It is probable, that Archias was rather farther advanced in life, when he went to Rome.

2. *Q. Metello Numidico*—This Metellus was surnamed *Numidicus*, because he defeated Jugurtha in two battles, and laid waste all Numidia. According to Plutarch, he was an uncle of the Luculli.

3. *Ejus Pio filio*—The son of Metellus was called *Pius*, because by his intreaties he obtained his father's recall from exile.—The old Roman signification of *pietas* was *filial duty*; theological writers use it in the sense of *duty towards God*, our heavenly father.

4. *M. Aemilio*—Aemilius Scaurus was at the head of the Senate, and a man of great influence.

5. *Q. Catulo*—There were an orator and a Consul of this name:

et patre et filio : a ⁶L. Crasso colebatur : Lucullos verò, et Drusum, et Octavios, et Catonem, et totam Hortensiorum domum devinctam consuetudine cum teneret, afficiebatur summo honore, quòd eum non solum colebant, qui aliquid percipere aut audire studebant, verum etiam, si qui fortè simulabant.

IV. Interim satis longo intervallo, cum esset cum L. Lucullo ⁶in Siciliam profectus, et cum ex eà provincià cum eodem Lucullo decederet, venit ⁷Heracleam. Quae cum esset civitas acquissimo jure ac ¹foedere, adscribi se in eam civitatem voluit : idque, cum ipse per se dignus putaretur, tum auctoritate et gratià Luculli ab Heracliensibus impetravit. Data est civitas Silvani lege et Carbonis, **SI QUI FOEDERATIS CIVITATIBUS ADSRIPTI FUISSENT : SI TUM, CUM LEX FEREBATUR, IN ITALIA DOMICILIUM HABUISSENT : ET SI SEXAGINTA DIEBUS APUD PRAE-**

6. *L. Crasso, etc.*—Lucius Crassus was celebrated for his eloquence.—Of the Luculli we have already spoken.—Drusus was an uncle of Marcus Cato, was a tribune of the people, and was slain at home in the beginning of the social war.—There were three Octavii in Rome ; Cneius, who was Consul with Cinna (See note 7th, page 63rd) ; another Eneius of a different family, who was colleague of Curio in the Consulship ; and Lucius, who was Consul in conjunction with Cotta, and was a brother of the last mentioned Cneius.—This Cato was the father of the celebrated Cato, who committed suicide at Utica.

7. *Interim*—Afterwards.

8. *In Siciliam profectus*—Lucius Lucullus when Quaestor went to Asia, when Praetor had the province of Sicily, and when Consul obtained Asia again. Archias attended him in these provinces.

9. *Heracleam*—Heraclea was an Italian city, situated upon the borders of Campania, near Rhegium and Tarentum. It was one of the associate cities, whose citizens had the same privileges, that the Romans had. Archias of course, therefore, might claim the privileges of a Roman citizen.

1. *Foedere*—The alliance was made with Heraclea, at the time king Pyrrhus was in Italy, in the year of Rome 175.

TOREM ESSENT PROFESSI. Cum hic domicilium Romae multos jam annos haberet, professus est apud praetorem Q. Metellum, familiarissimum suum. Si nihil aliud, nisi de civitate ac lege dicimus, nihil dico ampliùs : causa ²dicta est. Quid enim horum infirmari, Gracche, potest? Heracleae-ne esse eum adscriptum negabis? adest vir summâ auctoritate et religione et fide, M. Lucullus, qui se non opinari, sed scire ; non audivisse, sed vidisse ; non interfuisse, sed egisse dicit. Adsunt Heraclienses legati, nobilissimi homines, qui hujus judicii causâ cum mandatis et cum publico testimonio venerunt, qui hunc adscriptum Heracliensem dicunt. Hic tu tabulas desideras Heracliensium publicas, quas ³Italico bello, incenso tabulario, interisse scimus omnes. Est ridiculum ad ea, quae habemus, nihil dicere ; quaerere, quae habere non possumus ; et de hominum memoriâ tacere, literarum memoriam flagitare ; et, cum habeas amplissimi viri ⁴religionem, integerrimi municipii jusjurandum fidemque, ea, quae depravari nullo modo possunt, repudiare ; tabulas, quas idem dicis solere corrumpi, desiderare. An domicilium Romae non habuit is, qui tot annis ante civitatem datam, sedem omnium rerum ac fortunarum suarum Romae collocavit? At non est professus ; imo verò ⁵iis tabulis

2 *Dicta*—Defended.

3. *Italico bello*—In the 662nd year of Rome, the Italian allies of the Romans made war upon the republic to obtain the freedom of the city by arms. This occasioned the Italic or social war, which has also been called the Marsick war, because it was begun by the Marsi.

4. *Religionem*—Testimony was thought religious, because it was given upon oath.

5. *Iis tabulis*—Archias did not record his name in those registers which were kept negligently, but in those kept by Metellus, a man of unquestionable integrity.

professus, quae solae ex illâ professione collegioque praetorum obtinent publicarum tabularum auctoritatem.

V. Nam cum ⁶ Appii tabulae negligentius asservatae dicerentur ; Gabinii, quamdiu incolumis fuit, levitas, post damnationem, calamitas omnem tabularum fidem resignasset ; ⁷ Metellus, homo sanctissimus modestissimusque omnium, tantâ diligentia fuit, ut ad L. Lentulum, praetorem, et ad iudices venerit, et unius nominis liturâ se commotum esse dixerit. His igitur tabulis nullam lituram in nomen A. Licinii videtis. Quae cum ita sint, quid est, quod de ejus civitate dubitetis, praesertim cum aliis quoque in civitatibus fuerit adscriptus ? Etenim cum mediocribus multis, et aut nullâ aut humili aliquâ arte praeditis gratuitò civitatem in ⁸ Graeciâ homines impertiebantur, Rheginos, credo, aut ⁹ Locrenses, aut Neapolitanos, aut Tarentinos, quod ¹ scenicis artificibus largiri soleant, id huic, summâ ingenii praedito gloriâ, noluisse ? Quid ? cum caeteri non modò ² post civitatem datam, sed etiam ³ post legem Papiam, aliquo modo

6. *Appii tabulae, etc.*—Appius and Gabinius were Praetors, when Archias was registered. The register of Appius was known to be kept negligently ; and the corruption of Gabinius, while he was safe, and his disgrace, after his condemnation, destroyed the credit of his register also. This Gabinius was afterwards Consul with L. Piso ; it does not appear, of what crime he had been convicted.

7. *Metellus*—was the Praetor, before whom Archias claimed the privileges of a citizen.

8. *Graeciâ*—Cicero here means Graecia Magna, a part of Italy extending from the borders of Latium to Tarentum and Cumae.

9. *Locrenses*—The inhabitants of Locris, a city in the remotest part of Italy, conferred upon Archias the immunities of a citizen.

1. *Scenicis artificibus*—Managers of theatres and their associates were contemptible among the Romans.

2. *Post civitatem datam*—i. e. after the passing of the law of Sylvanus and Carbo.

3. *Post legem Papiam*—Petronius at first made a law, prohibiting strangers from enjoying the privileges of citizens ; this law Papius, a Tribune of the people, revived in the year of Rome 688.

in eorum municipiorum tabulas ⁴irreperint ; hic, qui nec utitur quidem illis, in quibus est scriptus, quod semper se Heracliensem esse voluit, rejicietur ? ⁵Census nostros requiris scilicet. Est enim obscurum, ⁶proximis censoribus, hunc cum clarissimo imperatore L. Lucullo apud exercitum fuisse : superioribus, cum eodem quaestore fuisse in Asiâ : primis, Julio et Crasso, nullam populi partem esse censam. Sed, quoniam census non jus civitatis confirmat, ac tantummodo indicat, eum, qui sit census, ita se jam tum gessisse pro cive ; iis temporibus, quae tu criminaris, ⁷ne ipsius quidem iudicio eum in civium Rom. jure esse versatum, et ⁸testamentum saepè fecit nostris legibus, et adiit haereditates civium Rom. et in beneficiis ⁹ad aerarium delatus est a L. Lucullo praetore et consule.

4. *Irreperint*—by means of the negligence or corruption of the Praetors.

5. *Census*—A census, or enumeration of the people was usually taken once every five years. The census did not make or prove a man to be a citizen ; but was only presumptive evidence, that he had been admitted to the freedom of the city. Gracchus said, that the name of Archias was not upon the Censors' books ; Cicero replies, that Archias was absent with Lucullus, when the census was taken, and that when he was in Rome, the census was not taken.

6. *Proximis censoribus*—In the time of the last Censors, Archias was with Lucullus at that time General in Asia ; in the time of the preceding Censor, he was with the same Lucullus, who was then Quaestor in Asia ; when Julius and Crassus were Censors, no census was taken. The census about that time was discontinued for a number of years.

7. *Ne ipsius iudicio*—Gracchus pretended, that by Archias' own confession he was not a Roman citizen.

8. *Testamentum fecit*—Strangers could neither make a will, nor receive a legacy ; Archias, therefore, by making a will and receiving legacies, declared himself a citizen.

9. *Ad aerarium*—It was customary, when a soldier had behaved remarkably well, that the General should commend him to the treasury to receive a reward ; these recommendations were thought very honourable.

VI. Quaere argumenta, si qua potes; nunquam enim hic neque suo, neque amicorum judicio revinctur. Quaeres a nobis, Gracche, cur tantoperè hoc homine delectemur? quia suppeditat nobis, ubi et animus ex hoc forensi strepitu reficiatur, et aures convivio defessae conquiescant. An tu existimas, aut suppetere nobis posse, quod quotidie dicamus in tantâ varietate rerum, nisi animos nostros doctrinâ excolamus: aut ferre animos tantam posse contentionem, nisi eos doctrinâ eâdem relaxemus? Ego verò fateor, me his studiis esse deditum: caeteros pudeat, si qui ita se literis abdiderunt, ut nihil possint ex his neque ad communem afferre fructum, neque in adspectum lucemque proferre. Me autem quid pudeat, qui tot annos ita vivo, Judices, ut ab nullius unquam me tempore aut commodum aut otium meum abstraxerit, aut voluptas avocârit, aut denique somnus retardârit? Quare quis tandem me reprehendat, aut quis mihi jure succenseat, si, quantum caeteris ad suas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporis; quantum alii tribuunt ¹tempestivis conviviis, quantum denique aleae, quantum pilae; tantum mihi egomet ad haec studia recolenda sumpsero? Atque hoc adeò mihi concedendum est magis, quòd ex his studiis, haec quoque crescit oratio et facultas: quae quantacunque in me est, nunquam amicorum periculis defuit; quae si cui levior videtur, illa

1. *Tempestivis conviviis*—Entertainments, which began earlier, and continued later, than usual:

quidem certe, quae summa sunt, ex quo fonte hauriam, sentio. Nam, nisi multorum praeceptis multisque literis mihi ab adolescentiâ suasissem, nihil esse in vitâ magnoperè expetendum, nisi laudem atque honestatem; in eâ autem persequendâ omnes cruciatus corporis, omnia pericula mortis atque exilii parvi esse ducenda; nunquam me pro salute vestrâ in tot ac tantas dimicationes, atque in hos profligatorum hominum quotidianos impetus objecissem. Sed pleni omnes sunt libri, plenae sapientium voces, plena exemplorum vetustas, quae jacerent in tenebris omnia, nisi literarum lumen accederet. Quàm multas nobis imagines, non solùm ad intuendum, verùm etiam ad imitandum, fortissimorum virorum ²expressas scriptores et Graeci et Latini reliquerunt? quas ego mihi semper in administrandâ repub. proponens, animum et mentem meam ipsâ cogitatione hominum excellentium conformabam.

VII. Quaeret quispiam, quid? illi ipsi summi viri, quorum virtutes literis proditae sunt, istâne doctrinâ, quam tu laudibus effers, eruditi fuerunt? Difficile est hoc de omnibus confirmare: sed tamen est certum, quid respondeam. Ego multos homines excellenti animo ac virtute fuisse, et sine doctrinâ, naturae ipsius habitu propè divino, per seipsos et moderatos et graves extitisse fateor; etiam illud adjungo, saepiùs ad laudem atque virtutem naturam sine doctrinâ, quàm sine naturâ valuisse doctrinam; atque idem ego contendo, cum ad naturam eximiam atque illustrem accesserit ratio quaedam confirmatioque doctri-

2. *Tantas dimicationes*—Civil commotions and insurrections.

3. *Expressas*—Examples.

nae, tum illud nescio quid praeclarum ac singulare solere existere. Ex hoc esse hunc numero, quem patres nostri viderunt, divinum hominem, ⁴Africanum: ex hoc ⁵C. Laelium, L. Furium, modestissimos homines, et continentissimos: ex hoc fortissimum virum, et illis temporibus doctissimum, M. Catonem illum senem: qui profectò, si nihil ad percipiendam colendamque virtutem literis adjuvarentur, nunquam se ad eàrum studium contulissent. Quòd si non hic tantus fructus ostenderetur, si ex his studiis delectatio sola peteretur; tamen, ut opinor, hanc animi remissionem humanissimam ac liberalissimam judicaretis. Nam ⁶caetera neque temporum sunt, neque aetatum omnium, neque locorum: at haec studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium praebent; delectant domi, non impediunt foris; pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur. Quòd si ipsi haec neque attingere, neque sensu nostro gustare possemus, tamen ea mirari deberemus, etiam cum in aliis videremus.

VIII. Quis nostrum tam animo agresti ac duro fuit, ⁷ut Roscii morte nupèr non commoveretur? qui

4. *Africanum*—The youngest son of Paulus Aemilius was surnamed Africanus. He destroyed Numidia and Carthage. Cicero (*De Officiis*) says of him, that he added dignity to his warlike glory by his eloquence.

5. *C. Laelium, L. Furium*—Laelius was surnamed *Sapiens*, and was celebrated for his eloquence.—In his book *De Claris Oratoribus*, Cicero speaks in high terms of the literary talents of Furius.—Cato was a man of great authority and courage. Cicero in his writings upon oratory frequently speaks of his eloquence. He learned the Greek language, when he was very old.

6. *Caetera*—Other pursuits.—The student must be pleased with this panegyrick upon literature.

7. *Rosci*—Roscius, the comedian, for whom Cicero formerly de-

cum esset senex mortuus, tamen, propter excellentem artem ac venustatem, videbatur omnino mori non debuisse. Ergo ille corporis motu tantum amorem sibi conciliarat a nobis omnibus : nos animorum incredibiles motus celeritatemque ingeniorum negligimus ? Quoties ego hunc Archiam vidi, Judices, (utar enim vestrâ benignitate, quoniam me in hoc novo genere dicendi tam diligentè attenditis) quoties ego hunc vidi, cum literam scripsisset nullam, magnum numerum optimorum versuum de his ipsis rebus, quae tum agerentur, dicere ex tempore ? quoties ⁸revocatum eandem rem dicere, commutatis verbis atque sententiis ? quae verò accuratè cogitatèque scripsisset, ea sic vidi probari, ut ad veterum scriptorum laudem pervenirent. Hunc ego non diligam ? non admirer ? non omni ratione defendendum putem ? Atque sic a summis hominibus eruditissimisque accepimus, caeterarum rerum studia et doctrinâ et praeceptis et arte constare ; poetam naturâ ipsâ valere, et mentis viribus excitari, et quasi divino quodam spiritu inflari, Quare suo jure noster ille Ennius ⁹sanctos appellat poetas, quòd quasi deorum aliquo dono atque munere commendati nobis esse videantur. Sit igitur, Judices, sanctum apud vos, humanissimos homines, hoc poetae nomen, quod nulla unquam barbaria violavit. ¹Saxa et solitudines voci respondent, bestiae saepè

livered an oration. He was remarkable for the gracefulness of his motion.

8. *Revocatum*—His attention recalled, Archias possessed the talent of expressing the same idea in many different ways.

9. *Sanctos appellat poetas*—Plato calls poets the sons and interpreters of the gods.

1. *Saxa, etc.*—Cicero here alludes to the fable of Orpheus, whom the poets feign to have charmed tigers, lions, woods, and trees by the musick of his voice.

immanes cantu flectuntur atque consistunt; nos instituti rebus optimis non poetarum voce moveamur? ²Homerum Colophonii civem esse dicunt suum, Chii suum vindicant, Salaminii repetunt, Smyrnaei verò suum esse confirmant; itaque etiam delubrum ejus in oppido dedicaverunt; permulti alii praeterea pugnant inter se, atque contendunt.

IX. Ergo illi alienum, quia poeta fuit, post mortem etiam expetunt: nos hunc vivum, qui et voluntate et legibus noster est, repudiamus? praesertim cum omne olim studium atque omne ingenium contulerit Archias ad populi Romani gloriam laudemque celebrandam? nam et ³Cimbricas res adolescens attigit, et ipsi illi C. Mario, qui durior ad haec studia videbatur, jucundus fuit. Neque enim quisquam est tam aversus a Musis, qui non mandari versibus aeternum suorum laborum facile praekonium patiatur. Themistoclem illum, summam Athenis virum, dixisse aiunt, cum ex eo quaereretur, quod acroama aut curjus vocem libentissimè audiret: Ejus, a quo sua virtus optimè praedicaretur. Itaque ille Marius item eximiè ⁴L. Plotium dilexit; cujus ingenio putabat ea, quae gesserat, posse celebrari. ⁵Mithridaticum verò

2. *Homerum, etc.*—The student well knows the story of the seven Greek cities claiming the honour of being Homer's birth place. As there were several Homers of various professions, the probability is, that each had one or more, whom they declared to be the celebrated poet.—Colophon was a city of Ionia—Chios was an island in the Aegean sea—Salamis was a city in the island of Cyprus—Smyrna was an Ionian city.

3. *Cimbricas res*—In singing the triumphs of Marius over the Cimbri, Archias celebrated the name and glory of Rome.

4. *Plotium*—There were two of this name, a rhetorician and a poet.

5. *Mithridaticum bellum*—See the oration for the Manilian law passim.—A history of this war Archias wrote in Greek verse. Cicero here gives Lucullus these epithets, (*fortissimum et clarissimum*

bellum magnum atque difficile, et in multâ varietate terrâ marique versatum, totum ab hoc expressum est : qui libri non modò L. Lucullum, fortissimum et clarissimum virum, verùm etiam populi Romani nomen illustrent. Populus enim Rom. aperuit, Lucullo imperante, Pontum, et regiis quondam opibus et ipsâ naturâ regionis vallatum : populi Romani exercitus, eodem duce, non maximâ manu ¹²⁴⁵ innumerabiles Armeniorum copias fudit : populi Rom. laus est, urbem amicissimam Cyzicenorum, ejusdem consilio, ex omni impetu regio ac totius belli ore ac faucibus ereptam esse atque conservatam : nostra semper ¹²⁴⁵ feretur et prædicabitur, L. Lucullo dimicante, cum, interfectis ducibus, depressa hostium classis et incredibilis apud Tenedum pugna illa navalis : nostra sunt trophæa, nostra monumenta, nostri triumphi : quia quorum ingeniis hæc feruntur, ab iis populi Rom. fama celebratur. Carus fuit Africano superiori noster Ennius ; itaque etiam in sepulchro Scipionum putatur is esse constitutus e marmore. At iis laudibus certè non solùm ipsi, qui laudantur, sed etiam populi Rom. nomen ornatur. In coelum hujus proavus Cato tollitur : magnus honos populi Rom. rebus ad-

virum) which for no very good reason he withheld from him in the oration for the Manilian law.

6. *Innumerabiles Armeniorum*—See note 9th, page 101st, upon the oration for the Manilian law.

7. *Tenedum*—Tenedos was an island in the Aegean sea, near which Lucullus defeated Mithridates in a naval battle.

8. *Ennius*—Ennius was an ancient poet, born in Calabria. He was patronised by Scipio Africanus. Nothing of his works remains, but a few fragments.

9. *Proavus Cato*—This is Cato Major, an ancestor of the Cato, who was present at the trial. In war, Cato the Elder was an expert General ; in peace, an able lawyer ; in pleading, an eloquent orator.

jungitur : omnes denique illi ¹Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii non sine communi omnium nostrum laude decorantur.

X. Ergo illum, qui haec fecerat, ²Rudium hominem majores nostri in civitatem receperunt : nos hunc Heracliensem, ³multis civitatibus expetiturum, in hac autem legibus constitutum, de nostra civitate ejiciemus ? Nam, ⁴si quis minorem gloriae fructum putat ex Graecis versibus percipi, quam ex Latinis, vehementer errat ; propterea quod Graeca leguntur in omnibus ferè gentibus, Latina suis finibus, exiguis sanè, continentur. Quare, si res hae, quas gessimus, orbis terrae regionibus definiuntur ; cupere debemus, quod minus manuumstrarum tela pervenerint, eodem gloriam famamque penetrare : quod cum ipsis populis, de quorum rebus scribitur, haec ampla sunt ; tum iis certè, qui de vitâ gloriae causâ dimicant, hoc maximum et periculorum incitamentum est, et laborum. Quam multos scriptores rerum suarum magnus ⁵ille Alexander secum habuisse dicitur ? Atque is tamen cum in Sigaeo ad Achillis tumulum adstitisset, O fortunate, inquit, adolescens, qui tuae virtutis Homerum praeconem inveneris. Et verè : nam

1. *Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii*—The valour and talents of these Romans, who were distinguished for their exploits in the second Punic war, had been sung by Ennius.

2. *Rudium hominem*—Ennius was born at Rudia, a city of Calabria, and was admitted to the freedom of Rome by M. Fulvius.

3. *Multis civitatibus expetiturum*—By the inhabitants of Rhegium, Locris, and Naples.

4. *Si quis minorem, etc.*—Archias wrote in the Greek language ; Ennius in the Latin. The Greek at that time was much more spoken than the Latin.

5. *Ille Alexander*—Alexander the Great, king of Macedonia.

nisi ⁶*Ilias* illa extitisset, idem tumulus, qui corpus ejus contexerat, nomen etiam obruisset. Quid? nos-
tar hic Magnus, qui cum virtute fortunam adaequa-
vit, non-ne ⁷Theophanem Mytilenaeum, scriptorem
rerum suarum, in concione militum civitate donavit?
et nostri illi fortes viri, sed rustici ac milites, dulce-
dine quādam gloriae commoti, quasi participes ejus-
dem laudis, magno illud clamore approbaverunt? ⁸Ita-
taque credo, si civis Rom. Archias legibus non esset,
ut ab aliquo imperatore civitate donaretur, perficere
non potuit. Sulla cum Hispanos et Gallos donaret,
credo, hunc petentem repudiasset: quem nos in con-
cione vidimus, cum ei libellum ⁹malus poeta de popu-
lo subjecisset, quod epigramma in eum fecisset tan-
tummodo alternis versibus longiusculis, statim ex iis
rebus, quas tunc vendebat, jubere ei praemium tri-
bui sub eā conditione, ne quid postea scriberet. Qui
sedulitatem mali poetae duxerit aliquo tamen praemio
dignam, hujus ingenium et virtutem in scribendo et
copiam non expetisset? Quid? a Q. Metello Pio,
familiarissimo suo, qui civitate multos donavit, neque
per se, neque per Lucullos impetravisset? qui prae-
sertim usque eò de suis rebus scribi cuperet, etiam
¹Cordubae natis poetis pingue quiddam sonantibus
atque peregrinum, tamen aures suas dederet.

6. *Ilias*—The *Iliad* of Homer is the celebrated poem, in which he narrates the events of the Trojan war.

7. *Theophanem*—Theophanes was a poet and historian. He sung the deeds of Pompey, and on that account was presented with the freedom of the city.

8. *Itaque, credo, etc.*—This is irony.

9. *Malus poeta de populo*—An illiterate vulgar poet.

1. *Cordubae*—A city in *Hispania Baetica*, famous for its bad poets. It however produced some men of merit, among whom are the two Senecas and Lucan.

XI. Neque enim est hoc dissimulandum, quod obscurari non potest ; sed prae nobis ferendum ; trahimur omnes laudis studio, et optimus quisque maximè gloriâ ducitur. Illi ipsi philosophi, etiam in illis libellis, quos de contemnendâ gloriâ scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt ; in eo ipso, in quo praedicationem nobilitatemque despiciunt, praedicari se ac nominari volunt. ²Decimus quidem Brutus, summus ille vir et imperator, Attii, amicissimi sui, carminibus templorum ac monumentorum aditus exornavit suorum. Jam verò ille, qui cum Aetolis, ³Ennio comite, bellavit, Fulvius non dubitavit Martis manubias Musis consecrare. Quare, in quâ urbe imperatores propè armati poetarum nomen et Musarum delubra coluerunt, in eâ non debent togati Judices a Musarum honore et a poetarum salute abhorrere. Atque, ut id libentiùs faciatis, jam me vobis, Judices, indicabo, et de meo quodam amore gloriae, nimis acri fortasse, veruntamen honesto, vobis confitebor. Nam, quas res nos in consulatu nostro vobiscum simul ⁴pro salute hujus urbis atque imperii, et pro vitâ civium, proque universâ republicâ gessimus, attigit hic versibus, atque inchoavit : quibus auditis, quòd mihi magna res et jucunda visa est, hunc ad perficiendum hortatus sum. Nullam enim virtus aliam mercedem laborum periculorumque desiderat, praeter hanc laudis et gloriae : quâ quidem detractâ, Judices, quid

2. *Decimus quidem Brutus*—He was Consul with Scipio, and in Spain defeated 60,000 Gallaecians, in consequence of which he was surnamed Gallaecius.—Attius, or Accius, was a tragick poet.

3. *Ennio*—The poet Ennius attended Fulvius to the Aetolian war.

4. *Pro salute hujus urbis*—Cicero was very desirous to have the events of his Consulship celebrated.

est, quod, in hoc tam exiguo vitae curriculo et tam brevi, tantis nos in laboribus exerceamus? Certè, si nihil animus praesentiret in posterum, et si, quibus regionibus vitae spatium circumscriptum est, eisdem omnes cogitationes terminaret suas; nec tantis se laboribus frangeret, nec tot curis vigiliisque angeretur, neque toties de vitâ ipsâ dimicaret. Nunc insidet quaedam in optimo quoque virtus, quae noctes et dies animum gloriae stimulis concitat atque admonet, non cum vitae tempore esse dimittendam commemorationem nominis nostri, sed cum omni posteritate adaequandam.

XII. An verò tam parvi animi videamur esse omnes, qui in republicâ atque in his vitae periculis laboribusque versamur, ut, cum, usque ad extremum spatium, nullum tranquillum atque otiosum spiritum duxerimus, nobiscum simul moritura omnia arbitremur? An cum statuas et imagines, non animorum simulacra, sed corporum, studiosè multi summi homines reliquerunt, consiliorum relinquere ac virtutum nostrarum effigiem non-ne multò malle debemus, summis ingeniis expressam et politam? Ego verò omnia, quae gerebam, jam tum in gerendo spargere me ac disseminare arbitrabar in orbis terrae memoriam sempiternam. Haec verò sive a meo sensu post mortem abfutura sunt, sive, ut sapientissimi homines putaverunt, ad aliquam animi mei partem pertinebunt, nunc quidem certè cogitatione quâdam speque delector. Quare, conservate, Iudices, hom-

5. *Ut sapientissimi homines*—Many of the philosophers of antiquity believed in the immortality of the soul.

inmem pudore eo, quem amicorum studiis videtis comprobati tum dignitate, tum etiam venustate; ingenio autem tanto, quantum id convenit existimari, quod summorum hominum ingeniis expetitur esse videatis; causâ verò ejusmodi, quae beneficio legis, auctoritate municipii, testimonio Luculli, tabulis Metelli comprobetur. Quae cum ita sint, petimus a vobis, Iudices, si qua non modò humana, verùm etiam divina in tantis negotiis commendatio debet esse; ut eum, qui vos, qui vestros imperatores, qui populi Romani res gestas semper ornavit, qui etiam his recentibus nostris vestrisque domesticis periculis aeternum se testimonium laudum daturum esse profitetur, quique est eo numero, qui semper apud omnes sancti sunt habiti atque dicti, sic in vestram accipiatis fidem, ut humanitate vestrâ levatus potius, quàm acerbitate violatus esse videatur. Quae de causâ, pro meâ consuetudine, breviter simplicitèrque dixi, Iudices, ea confido probata esse omnibus: quae non fori neque judiciali consuetudine, et de hominis ingenio, et communiter de ipsius studio locutus sum, ea, Iudices, a vobis spero esse in bonam partem accepta; ab eo, qui iudicium exercet, certè scio.

6. *Si*—The particle *si* is here used affirmatively.

7. *His recentibus.....periculis*—This oration was delivered a short time after the republic had been delivered from the danger of Catiline's conspiracy.

8. *Ab eo*—It is not known who the Praetor was, before whom Cicero delivered this oration. The eloquence of Cicero, however, was successful; Archias was acquitted.

ORATIO PRO T. A. MILONE.

INTRODUCTION.

THE most remarkable event, which happened in the close of the year of Rome 691, says Dr. Middleton, " was the pollution of the mysteries of BONA DEA, OF GOOD GODDESS by P. Clodius; which, by an unhappy train of consequences, not only involved Cicero in an unexpected calamity, but seems to have given the first blow towards the ruin of the republick. Clodius was now Quæstor, and by that means a Senator; descended from the noblest family in Rome, in the vigour of his age, of a graceful person, lively wit, and flowing eloquence; but, with all the advantages of nature, he had a mind incredibly vicious, was fierce, insolent, audacious, but above all most profligately wicked, an open contemner of gods and men; disdaining even honours in the common-forms of the republick; nor relishing pleasures, but what were impious, adulterous, incestuous. He had an intrigue with Cæsar's wife, Pompeia, who, according to annual custom, was now celebrating in her house those awful and mystick sacrifices, to which no male creature was ever admitted, and where every thing masculine was so scrupulously excluded, that even pictures of that sort were covered during the ceremony. This was a proper scene for Clodius' genius to act upon, an opportunity of daring, beyond what man had ever dared before him; the thought of mixing the impurity of his lusts with the sanctity of these venerable rites flattered his imagination so strongly, that he resolved to gain access to his mistress in the very midst of her holy ministry. With this view he dressed himself in a woman's habit, and, by the benefit of his smooth face, and the introduction of one of the maids, he hoped to pass without discovery; but, by some mistake between him and his guide, he lost his way, when he came within the house, and fell in unluckily among the other female servants, who, detecting him by his voice, alarmed the whole company by their shrieks to the great amazement of the matrons, who presently threw a veil over the sacred mysteries, while Clodius found means to escape by the favour of some of the damsels."

These facts being publicly known, Clodius was called to a trial: and because Cicero gave in evidence, what justice and a regard to truth obliged him to testify, Clodius from that time became his implacable enemy. He not only procured the banishment of Cicero, but extended his resentment to deeds of malice against the friends of the orator. Of these friends Milo was one, and consequently was often persecuted by Clodius. It afterwards happened, in the 701st year of Rome, when Milo with two powerful competitors was a candidate for the Consulship, that Clodius was a candidate for the Praetorship; and so great was their enmity, that each by all the means in his power endeavoured to prevent the success of the

other. The Senate and all the virtuous part of the community were in favour of Milo, but the intrigues of the Clodian faction prevented the election of Consuls for a long time after its usual period.

At this time, says Asconius, Milo endeavoured to procure a meeting of the *Comitia* as soon as possible, and was upon the point of succeeding: for he had not only the good wishes of all virtuous men, who opposed Clodius, but likewise of the populace itself, who caressed him on account of his largesses, and his great expense in entertaining them with plays and shews of gladiators. But his competitors endeavoured to put off the day appointed for this purpose as long as they could, and would not suffer an address to be made to the Senate for assembling the patricians, in order to create an *Interrex*, which was customary upon occasions of the like nature.

While the republick was thus situated, it happened, that on the 13th of the Kalends of February Milo went to Lanuvium (of which he was a citizen and at that time Dictator) in order to create a priest on the next day; and that Clodius, in his return from Aricia, met him about three in the afternoon a little on the other side of *Bovillae*, and nigh the place where the temple of *Bona Dea* stood. Clodius was on horseback; his retinue consisted of about thirty slaves with swords, and every way prepared for an attack, which was the usual way of travelling in those days. Besides these Clodius had three companions, one a Roman Knight, named C. Cassinius Schola, the other two, P. Pomponius and Caius Clodius, raised from the plebeian to the equestrian order. Milo was in a chariot together with his wife Fausta and Marcus Fustus, his intimate acquaintance. He was attended by a great number of servants, some of them gladiators and two of them, Aeudanius and Birria, famous in their profession; who, walking slowly in the rear, happened to enter into a quarrel with the servants of Clodius. As Clodius turned about with a stern and menacing air to behold the fray, Birria run him through the shoulder with a sword. The riot increasing, Milo's servants ran up to the assistance of their companions, and Clodius, being wounded, was carried into a tavern near *Bovillae*. Milo, hearing that Clodius was wounded, and thinking that it might prove dangerous, if he should live to resent it, but that his death would give him great satisfaction, even though he should be punished for it, ordered the tavern to be broken open. Marcus Fustenus was the leader of Milo's servants, and Clodius, attempting to conceal himself, was dragged forth, and killed with repeated stabs. His body was left on the highway, because his servants were either slain, or, being wounded, took care to conceal themselves. Sextus Tediis, a Senator, as he happened to return from the country, took it up, and ordered it to be carried to Rome. The body reached Rome, before the first hour of the night; a great multitude of servants and of the lower class of people flocked about it, and mourned over it, when lying in the court before the house. What heightened the horror of the deed was his wife Fulvia's exposing his wounds to publick view, in all the action and agony of grief. By the dawn of the next day, a greater multitude of the same kind assembled, and many men of note were squeezed to death. Munatius Plancus and Q. Pompeius Rufus, Tribunes of the people, repair-

ed to the house of Clodius, and by their instigations prevailed upon the mob to convey his body (stript of every thing save shoes, just as it lay in the bed) into the Forum, and place it on the Rostra, that the wounds might be better seen. There these Tribunes, being enemies to Milo, made invective speeches against him, while the people, under the conduct of Sextus Clodius, a scribe, brought the body into the Forum, and burnt it with the desks, seats, tables, and books belonging to the clerks; by which fire the court itself was burnt, and the *Porcia Basilica* adjoining to it damaged. The same mob favouring Clodius, beset the house of Milo, then absent, and of Marcus Lepidus, who had been appointed *Interrex*. Their irregularities, however, made their party unpopular, and Milo, whose friends now recovered their spirits, returned to Rome, distributed to the people a thousand *asses* a man, and, notwithstanding the unpopular act he had committed, stood for the Consulship.

But, for some days after the death of Clodius, Rome was in the greatest confusion. Factionous tumults and the commotions of different mobs destroyed all the vestiges of regular government. These disturbances at length terminated in Cneius Pompey's being created sole Consul. Three days after this magistrate entered upon office, he enacted a law for enquiring into the circumstances of Clodius' death. By this law it was enacted, that an extraordinary president should be chosen to regulate the trial of Milo. The *Comitia* being held upon this, Lucius Domitius Aenobarbus was recommended by Pompey, with the other judges, men of the greatest abilities and integrity in Rome. The accusers were the two Appii, young men, and kinsmen of Clodius. After the evidence for the prosecution had been heard before this court, which Pompey, to prevent the violent efforts of either party, had guarded with a strong body of regular troops, Cicero was permitted to proceed to the defence of the accused. When he began to speak, he was interrupted by a shout of the Clodian faction, (whom even the terror of the guards could not restrain) which so much disconcerted him, as to deprive him in a degree of his presence of mind. Indeed it has been said, he was so much terrified, that he made a frigid and weak defence. The following beautiful and persuasive oration, therefore, which Asconius thinks is the masterpiece of Cicero's eloquence, it is supposed, was composed by the orator, and received all its beauty and fire, some time after sentence was passed. It was written in the 701st year of Rome, and in the 54th of Cicero's age.

ETSI vereor, Judices, ne turpe sit, pro fortissimo viro ¹dicere incipientem timere; minimèque deceat, cum T. Annius [Milo] ipse magis de reipublicae salute, quàm de suâ perturbetur, me ad ejus causam parem animi magnitudinem afferre non posse; tamen haec ²novi judicii nova forma terret oculos, qui, quòcunque inciderunt, veterem consuetudinem fori et ~~Christinum~~ ^{Christinum} morem judiciorum requirunt; non enim coronâ consessus vester cinctus est, ut solebat; non usitatâ frequentiâ stipati sumus: nam illa praesidia,

1. *Dicere incipientem*—That the student may clearly perceive Cicero's arrangement in this oration, we copy from a commentator the following analysis.

The point of enquiry is, not whether Clodius was killed by Milo, for that is confessed; but whether he was not lawfully killed. This Cicero maintains in the affirmative, by laying down a general proposition, that it is lawful to kill the man, who lies in wait, and attempts to kill you.

This general proposition he proves,

1stly, From the authority of the people, from former trials, and from the laws in being:

2ndly, From the silence of the laws passed on that occasion, either by the Senate, or Pompey.

Having established this general proposition, the orator proceeds to prove, that Clodius comes precisely under that description: this he does,

1stly, From the advantages that were to arise to the deceased by the death of Milo:

2ndly, From the declared hatred he always expressed against Milo:

3rdly, From the criminal behaviour of the deceased through all the scenes of his life;

4thly, From his hopes of impunity.

And the evidence, upon which these circumstances are alleged, are the words and actions of the deceased.

The conclusion of the whole is, Milo acted on self-defence, and Clodius was lawfully killed.

2. *Novi judicii nova forma*—This is called a new trial, because Milo was not tried by the acting Praetor, as was usual in criminal cases, but by a special commission and an extraordinary judge. By *nova forma* he refers to the strong guard, which Pompey brought to the trial, in order to prevent any violence.

quae pro templis omnibus cernitis, etsi contra vim collocata sunt, non afferunt tamen oratori aliquid: ut in foro et in iudicio, quanquam praesidiis salutaribus et necessariis septi sumus, tamen ne non timere quidem sine aliquo timore possimus; quae si opposita Miloni putarem, cederem tempori, Iudices, nec inter tantam vim armorum existimarem oratori locum esse; sed me recreat et reficit ³Cn. Pompeii, sapientissimi et justissimi viri, consilium: qui profecto nec iustitiae suae putaret esse, quem reum sententiae iudicium tradidisset, eundem telis militum dedere; nec sapientiae, temeritatem concitatae multitudinis auctoritate publicâ armare. Quamobrem illa arma, centuriones, cohortes, non periculum nobis, sed praesidium denunciant: neque solum, ut quieto, sed etiam, ut magno animo simus, hortantur: neque auxilium modò defensionis meae, verum etiam silentium pollicentur. ⁴Reliqua verò multitudo, quae quidem est civium, tota nostra est: neque eorum quisquam, quos undique intuentes ex hoc ipso loco cernitis, unde aliqua pars fori aspici potest, et hujus

3. *Cn. Pompeii, sapientissimi et justissimi viri*—Though Pompey was not dissatisfied with Clodius' death, or the manner of it, but pleased rather, that the republick was freed at any rate from so pestilent a demagogue; yet he resolved to take the benefit of the occasion, for getting rid of Milo too; from whose ambition and high spirit he had reason to apprehend no less trouble. Cicero, being sensible of this, as well as the great authority and influence of Pompey, endeavours, through the whole of this oration, to remove the effects, which they might have upon the minds of the judges.

4. *Reliqua, etc.*—At this trial there were present three ranks of men; the soldiers, whom Pompey had placed there; the citizens, who waited the event of the trial; and the Clodians, who exerted themselves to procure the condemnation of Milo. The last mentioned consisted of profligate, low, and abandoned wretches, whom Clodius, by his rapines, had gained over to his interest.

exitum iudicii expectantes videtis, non cum virtuti Milonis favet, tum de se, de liberis suis, de patriâ, de fortunis hodierno die decertari putat.

II. Unum genus est, adversum infestumque nobis, eorum, quos P. Clodii furor rapinis, incendiis, et omnibus exitiis publicis pavit: qui hesternâ etiam concione incitati sunt, ut vobis voce praeirent, quid iudicaretis; quorum clamor, si quis fortè fuerit, admonere vos debet, ut eum civem retineatis, qui semper genus illud hominum clamoresque maximos pro vestrâ salute neglexit. Quamobrem adeste animis, Iudices, et timorem, si quem habetis, deponite. Nam, si unquam de bonis et fortibus viris; si unquam de benè meritis civibus potestas vobis iudicandi fuit; si denique unquam locus amplissimorum ordinum delectis viris datus est, ubi sua studia erga fortes et bonos cives, quae vultu et verbis saepè significassent, ré et sententiis declararent: hoc profectò tempore eam potestatem omnem vos habetis, ut statuatis, utrùm nos, qui semper vestrae auctoritati dediti fuimus, semper miseri lugeamus; an diu vexati a perditissimis civibus, aliquando per vos, ac vestram fidem, virtutem, sapientiamque recreemur. Quid enim nobis duobus, Iudices, laboriosius?

5. *Hesternâ concione*.—The day before Cicero pleaded for Milo, the Tribune Munatius Plancus called the people together, and exhorted them to appear the next day in a full body, when judgment was to be given, and to declare their sentiments in so publick a manner, that the accused might not be suffered to escape; which Cicero reflects upon, as an insult upon the liberty of the bench.

6. *Quid enim nobis duobus, etc.*.—Cicero here excites the compassion of the judges in his own and Milo's favour, from a consideration of the services they had done the state, and the injuries they had received from the Clodians.—Milo might justly claim the highest offices, on account of his merit: and accordingly had been formerly created Tribune, and now stood for the Consulship.

quid magis sollicitum, magis exercitum, dici aut fingi potest? qui spe amplissimorum praemiorum ad rempublicam adducti, metu crudelissimorum suppliciorum carere non possumus. Equidem caeteras tempestates et procellas in illis duntaxat fluctibus concionum semper putavi Miloni esse subeundas, quòd semper pro bonis contra improbos senserat; in iudicio verò et in eo consilio, in quo ex cunctis ordinibus amplissimi viri iudicarent, nunquam existimavi spem ullam esse habituros Milonis inimicos, ad ejus non salutem modò extinguendam, sed etiam gloriam per tales viros infringendam. Quanquam in hac causâ, Judices, ⁷T. Annii tribunatu rebusque omnibus pro salute reipublicae gestis ad hujus criminis defensionem non abutemur, nisi oculis videritis ⁸insidias Miloni a Clodio esse factas: nec deprecaturi sumus, ut crimen hoc nobis multa propter praeclara in rempublicam merita condonetis: nec postulaturi, ut, si mors P. Clodii salus vestra fuerit, idcirco eam virtuti Milonis potiùs quàm populi Romani felicitati assignetis: sin illius insidiae clariores hâc luce fuerint, tum denique obsecrabo obtestaborque vos, Judices, si caetera amisimus, hoc saltem nobis ut relinquatur, ab inimicorum audaciâ telisque vitam ut impunè liceat defendere.

7. *T. Annii tribunatu, etc.*—Milo was a Tribune the year after Clodius filled that office, and, during his Tribuneship, he checked the seditions of Clodius, and exerted himself to procure the recall of Cicero from exile.

8. *Insidias Miloni a Clodio esse factas*—The great point, which Cicero wishes to prove, is, that Clodius waylaid Milo; but while he demonstrates this, he frequently insinuates, that, if Milo had premeditated the death of Clodius, he would have deserved honours rather than punishment, for destroying so desperate and dangerous an enemy to the peace and liberty of Rome.

III. Sed, antequam ad eam orationem venio, quæ est propria nostræ quaestionis, videntur ea esse refutanda, quæ et in Senatu ab inimicis sæpè jactata sunt, et in concione sæpè ab improbis, et jam paulò antè ab accusatoribus; ut, omni errore sublato, rem planè, quæ venit in judicium, videre possitis. ⁹ Negant intueri lucem esse fas ei, qui a se hominem occisum esse fateatur. In quâ tandem urbe hoc homines stultissimi disputant? nempe in eâ, quæ primum judicium de capite vidit ¹ M. Horatii, fortissimi viri;

9. *Negant*—The Clodians asserted, that Milo deserved death for having killed a man. This assertion Cicero refutes by an argument derived from the examples of former ages of the republick, and from counter-decisions in parallel cases.

1. *M. Horatii*—In the 83rd year of Rome, when Tullus Hostilius was king, there was a war between the Romans and Albans. After some success on both sides, and when the two armies were near each other, the Alban General discovered, that some of the neighbouring nations were waiting for an engagement, which might weaken both the Romans and Albans, and that they were determined to improve the opportunity of endeavouring to conquer each of them. After this discovery he became desirous of entering into alliance with Hostilius, the king of Rome, but the parties could not agree upon the terms. While they were thus situated, the Alban General proposed, that the dispute should be settled by combat, and that three champions should be chosen from each camp. The proposal was accepted. Three brothers in each camp were selected; the Albans were named Curiatii, the Romans Horatii. Soon after the battle commenced, two of the Horatii were slain, but the third Horatius, exerting all his strength, slew the three Curiatii, and thus gained for his country an honourable victory. It happened, that the sister of Horatius was engaged in marriage to one of the young Albans, whom her brother had slain. When therefore her brother returned from the field, she reproached him for having slain the man, whom he knew his sister loved, and exclaimed, "*Thou monster of wickedness, how couldst thou dip thy hands in the blood of thy relations!*" Horatius, still warm with slaughter, and enraged at these reproaches and the untimely grief of his sister, said, "*Go then to thy lover, with thy unseasonable passion, thou, who forgettest thy dead brothers, thy living brother, and thy country. Thus, let every ROMAN perish, who laments the death of an enemy to ROME.*" As he uttered these last words, he stabbed her with his sword, and without longer stay, without sign of pity or remorse, went straight on to his father's house. His father approved of cruel deed: and when Horatius was tried for the murder of his sister, he was acquitted by the people.

qui, ²nondum liberâ civitate, tamen populi Romani comitiis liberatus est, cum suâ manu sororem interfecit esse fateretur. An est quisquam, qui hoc ignoret, cum de homine occiso quaeratur, aut negari solere omnino esse factum; aut rectè ac jure factum esse defendi? Nisi verò existimatis dementem. ³P. Africanum fuisse, qui, cum a C. Carbone, tribuno plebis, in concione seditiosè interrogaretur, quid de ⁴Tiberii Gracchi morte sentiret, respondit, jure caesum videri. Neque enim posset aut ⁵Ahala ille Servilius, aut P. Nasica, aut ⁶L. Opimius, aut ⁷C. Marius, aut, ⁸me consule, Senatus non nefarius haberi, si sceleratos cives interfici nefas esset. Itaque hoc, Judices, non sine causâ etiam fictis fabulis doctissimi homines memoriae prodiderunt, eum, ⁹qui patris ulciscendi causâ matrem necavisset, variatis hominum sententiis, non solùm divinâ, sed etiam deae sapientissimae sententiâ liberatum. Quòd si ¹duodecim tabulae nocturnum furem quoquo modo; diurnum autem, si se telo defenderit, interfici

2. *Nondum liberâ civitate*.—Rome was at that time under monarchical government.

3. *P. Africanum*.—This was P. Scipio Nasica.

4. *Tiberii Gracchi*.—See note 5th, page 6th.

5. *Ahala Servilius*.—See note 7th, page 6th.

6. *Opimius*.—See note 9th, page 7th.

7. *Marius*.—See note 1st, page 8th.

8. *Me consule*.—When Cicero was Consul, Lentulus, Cethegus, and others were put to death, by order of the Senate.

9. *Qui patris*.—Cicero refers to the story of Orestes, who killed his mother Clytemnestra, for having imbrued her hands in the blood of Agamemnon, his father. When he was tried, the judges were divided in opinion, upon which an appeal being made to the gods, he was acquitted by Minerva.

1. *Duodecim tabulae*.—The laws of the Twelve Tables were enacted by the Decemviri, and engraved on twelve plates of brass.—The law relative to theft declared, that, if a theft was committed in the night time, the person committing it might be lawfully killed.

impunè voluerunt ; quis est, qui, quoquo modo quis interfectus sit, puniendum putet, cum videat aliquando gladium nobis ad occidendum hominem ab ipsis porrigi legibus ?

IV. Atqui si tempus est ullum jure hominis necandi, quae multa sunt, certè illud est non modò justum, verùm etiam necessarium, cum vi vis illata defenditur. * *Pudicitiam* cum eriperet militi tribunus militaris in exercitu C. Marii, propinquus ejus imperatoris interfectus ab eo est, cui vim afferebat ; facere enim probus adolescens periculosè, quàm perpeti turpitèr maluit ; atque hunc ille vir summus scelere solutum periculo liberavit. Insidiatori verò et latroni quae potest inferri injusta nex ? Quid comitatus nostri, quid gladii volunt ? quos habere certè non liceret, si uti illis nullo pacto liceret. Est enim haec, *Judices*, non scripta, sed nata lex ; quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verùm ex naturâ ipsâ arripuimus, hausimus, expressimus ; ad quam non docti, sed facti ; non instituti, sed imbuti sumus : ut, si vita nostra in aliquas insidias, si in vim, si in tela aut latronum aut inimicorum incidisset ; omnis honesta ratio esset expediendae salutis. Silent enim leges inter arma, nec se expectari jubent, cum ei, qui expectare velit, antè injusta poena luenda sit, quàm justa repetenda. Etsi persapientèr et quodammodo tacitè dat ipsa lex potestatem defendendi ; quae

2. *Pudicitiam, etc.*—This military Tribune was C. Lucius the nephew of Marius. He made several unnatural attempts upon the body of Trebonius, a private soldier, who, to save his honour, at last put the infamous Lucius to death. When Trebonius was summoned before Marius, the General not only acquitted him, but bestowed an honourary crown or garland, as a reward of his virtue.

non modò hominem occidi, sed esse cum telo hominis occidendi causâ vetat : ut, cum causa, non telum quaereretur, qui sui defendendi causâ telo esset usus, non hominis occidendi causâ habuisse telum judicaretur. Quapropter hoc maneat, in causâ, Iudices, non enim dubite, quin probaturus sim vobis defensionem meam, si id memineritis, quod oblivisci non potestis, insidiatorem jure interfici posse.

V. Sequitur illud, quod a Milonis inimicis saepissimè dicitur, eadem, in quâ P. Clodius occisus est, ³Senatum judicasse contra rempublicam esse factam. Illam verò Senatus, non sententiis suis solùm, sed etiam studiis comprobavit. Quoties enim est illa causa a nobis acta in Senatu? quibus assensionibus universi ordinis? quàm nec tacitis, nec occultis? quando enim frequentissimo Senatu quatuor, ad summum quinque sunt inventi, qui Milonis causam non probarent? declarant hujus ⁴ambusti tribuni plebis illae ⁵intermortuae conciones, quibus quotidie meam potentiam invidiosè criminabatur, cum diceret, Senatum non quod sentiret, sed quod ego vellem, decer-

3. *Senatum judicasse, etc.*—Because the Senate had passed two decrees relative to the murder of Clodius, one of which declared, that it was an act against the commonwealth; the other, that Pompey should take care, that the republick should receive no detriment, and for that purpose should raise a body of troops; but Cicero says these decrees did not imply, that Milo was criminal in the opinion of the Senate, because the murder of Clodius was committed in self-defence, to which every man had a natural right.

4. *Ambusti tribuni plebis*—The epithet *ambusti* was applied to Mutatius Plancus, because he instigated and assisted the people to burn the court, and the desks, seats, tables, and books in the Forum.

5. *Intermortuae conciones*—These shortlived harangues, by asserting that the Senate was under the control of Cicero, implied, that the Senate decreed nothing against Milo; which contradiction to the assertions of the other enemies of Milo Cicero here notices.

nere. Quae quidem si potentia est appellanda potiùs, quàm propter magna in rempublicam merita mediocris in bonis causis auctoritas, aut propter officiosos labores meos nonnulla apud bonos gratia; appelletur ita sanè, dummodo eà nos utamur pro salute bonorum contra amentiam perditorum. ⁶ Hanc vero quaestionem, etsi non est iniqua, nunquam tamen Senatus constituendam putavit: erant enim leges, erant quaestiones, vel de caede, vel de vi: nec tantum moerorem ac luctum Senatui mors P. Clodii afferebat, ut nova quaestio constitueretur. Cujus enim Senatui de illo ⁷ incesto stupro iudicium decernendi ⁸ potestas esset erepta; de ejus interitu quis potest credere Senatum iudicium novum constituendum putasse? Cur igitur incendium curiae, oppugnationem aedium M. Lepidi, eandem hanc ipsam contra rempublicam Senatus factam esse decrevit? Quia nulla vis unquam est in liberà civitate suscepta inter cives non contra repub-

6. *Hanc quaestionem*—This extraordinary trial.

7. *Incesto stupro*—The word *incestus* was applied by the Romans not only to unlawful attempts upon the virtue of a kinswoman, but also to those upon the chastity of a Vestal virgin, or any female immediately employed in performing the rites and ceremonies of religion. It is therefore properly applied to Clodius' attempt upon Caesar's wife, while she was engaged in celebrating the mysteries of *Bona Dea*.

8. *Potestas esset erepta*—When the affair of Clodius' polluting the mysteries of *Bona Dea* was brought before the Senate, it was resolved to refer it to the college of priests, who declared it to be an abominable impiety: upon which the Consuls were ordered to provide a law for bringing Clodius to trial. But Q. Fusius Calenus, one of the Tribunes, supported by all the Clodian faction, would not permit the law to be offered to the suffrages of the citizens. The affair being likely to produce great disorders, Hortensius proposed an expedient, which was accepted by both parties, that the Tribune Fusius should publish a law for the trial of Clodius by the Praetor, with a select bench of judges. The consequence was, that by bribery a majority of the judges were induced to acquit Clodius, and he thus escaped with impunity.

licam. Non enim est ulla defensio contra vim unquam optanda, sed nonnunquam est necessaria : nisi verò aut ille dies, in quo Tiberius Gracchus est caesus, aut ille, quo Caius, aut quo arma Saturnini oppressa sunt, etiamsi e republicâ, rempublicam tamen non vulnerârunt.

VI. Itaque ego ipse decrevi, cum caedem in ¹ Appiâ viâ factam esse constaret, non eum, qui se defendisset, contra rempublicam fecisse ; sed, cum inesset in re vis et insidiae, crimen judicio reservavi, rem notavi. ¹ Quòd si per furiosum illum tribunum Senatui, quod sentiebat, perficere licuisset, novam quaestionem nunc nullam haberemus ; decernebat enim, ut veteribus legibus tantummodò extra ordinem quaeretur : ² divisa sententia est, ³ postulante nescio quo :

9. *Appiâ viâ*—Cicero here artfully insinuates, that, though the Senate had found the fray upon the Appian way to be an act of treason against the commonwealth, yet that Milo could never be affected by that decree, because, says he, it was the violence, that constituted the treason. Now Clodius, the aggressor, was the author of the violence, and not Milo, to whom the principles of self-defence, without any regard to the consequences, gave a right to preserve his own life.

1. *Quod si, etc.*—Had not the Senate been controled by the Tribune Munatius Plancus, they would have decreed, that Milo should be tried in the usual form, and he probably would have been acquitted.

2. *Divisa sententia*—When any opinion, proposed to the Senate, was thought too general, and to include several distinct articles, some of which might be approved, and others rejected, it was usual to require, that it might be divided. This was the case of the first decree relative to the death of Clodius ; it contained three distinct charges ; it declared that the death of Clodius, the burning of the court, and the attack upon Lepidus' house, were acts hostile to the commonwealth. Neither party would agree to this decree entirely ; the enemies of Milo therefore obtained a new decree, that there should be a special trial of the author of Clodius' death.

3. *Postulante nescio quo*—This was Q. Fusius ; a Senator, whom Munatius Plancus had corrupted by bribery. Cicero does not name him, because he was in the Senate.

nihil enim necesse est omnium me flagitia proferre : sic reliqua auctoritas Senatûs, emptâ intercessionem, sublata est. At enim Cn. Pompeius rogatione suâ et de re et de causâ judicavit : tulit enim de caede, quæ in Appiâ viâ facta esset, in quâ P. Clodius occisus fuit : quid ergo tulit ? nempè, ut quaereretur : quid porrò quaerendum est ? factum-ne sit ? at constat : a quo ? ut patet. Vidit, etiam in confessione facti, juris tamen defensionem suscipi posse : ⁴quòd nisi vidisset, posse absolvi eum, qui fateretur ; cum videret nos fateri, neque quaeri unquam jussisset, nec vobis tam ⁵salutarem hanc in judicando literam, quàm illam tristem dedisset. Mihi verò Cn. Pompeius non modò nihil gravius contra Milonem judicâsse, sed etiam statuisse videtur, quid vos in judicando spectare oporteret ; nam qui non poenam confessioni, sed defensionem dedit, is causam interitûs quaerendam, non interitum putavit. Jam illud dicet ipse profectò, quod suâ sponte fecit, Publio-ne Clodio tribuendum putarit, an temporì ?

VII. Domi suae nobilissimus vir, Senatus propugnator, atque illis quidem temporibus penè patronus, avunculus hujus nostri judicis, fortissimi viri, M. Ca-

4. *Quod nisi vidisset, etc.*—Cicero well knew of what great authority Pompey's opinion would be in this trial. He therefore with great address insinuates, that he was a friend to Milo, when he knew him to be an enemy to his client.

5. *Salutarem literam, etc.*—This alludes to the manner of giving judgment among the Romans. The judges had each a tablet covered with wax, upon which they wrote the letter *A*, if they meant to acquit ; *C*, if they condemned ; and *N. L.* that is, *non liquet*, if the cause appeared doubtful. These tables were delivered to the proper officer, who put them into an urn ; and, after sorting them, declared the majority.

tonis, tribunus plebis *M. Drusus occisus est; nihil de ejus morte populus consultus, nulla quaestio decreta a Senatu est. Quantum luctum in hac urbe fuisse a nostris patribus accepimus, cum †P. Africano domi suae quiescenti illa nocturna vis esset illata? quis tum non gemit? quis non arsit dolore? quem immortalem, si fieri posset, omnes esse cuperent, ejus ne necessariam quidem expectatam esse mortem? Num igitur ulla quaestio de Africani morte lata est? certè nulla. Quid ita? quia non alio facinore clari homines, aliò obscuri necantur. Intersit inter vitae dignitatem summorum atque infimorum: mors quidem illata per scelus iisdem poenis teneatur, et legibus; nisi fortè magis erit parricida, si quis consularem patrem, quàm si quis humilem necaverit, aut eò mors atrocior erit P. Clodii, quòd is in monumentis majorem suorum sit interfectus; hoc enim saepè ab

6. *M. Drusus*—Marcus Livius Drusus, who by Velleius, the historian, is styled a man most brave, most eloquent, and powerful, and who, according to Plutarch, was a leading man in the Senate, when he saw the whole Senate groaning under the popular laws of Tiberius Gracchus, conceived a design of restoring it to its former dignity, and recovering its wonted authority, which was now lodged in the equestrian order. The better to carry on his design, he pretended to be in the interest of the people; and promised to bestow the liberty of the city upon all the *Latins*; which, when he delayed to do, they demanded in a very sharp manner, that he would perform his promise. At length, when the people understood, that he had played the hypocrite with them, an unknown party of them slew him in his own house.

7. *P. Africano*—Publius Africanus Minor, opposing the Triumviri, Caius Cracchus, Lucius Fulvius, and Cneius Carbo, for making an attempt to divide the land and put in effect an Agrarian law, was found dead in his chamber in the morning, though the day before he attended a meeting of the Senate—There was no search made to discover, who were his murderers.—But, notwithstanding this story is related by many ancient authors, Velleius Paterculus says, that from the variety of reports concerning Africanus' decease, it is most probable, that he died a natural death.

istis dicitur ; perinde quasi Appius ille Caecus viam munierit, non quâ populus uteretur, sed ubi impunè sui posteri latrocinarentur. Itaque in eâdem istâ Appiâ viâ, cum ornatissimum equitem Rom. P. Clodius *M. Papirium occidisset, non fuit illud facinus puniendum ; homo enim nobilis in suis monumentis equitem Roman. occiderat. Nunc ejusdem Appiae nomen quantas tragoedias excitat ? quae cruentata antea caede honesti atque innocentis viri silebatur, eadem nunc crebrò usurpatur, posteaquam latronis et parricidae sanguine imbuta est. Sed quid ego illa commemoro ? comprehensus est *in templo Castoris servus P. Clodii, quem ille ad Cn. Pompeium interficiendum collocarat ; extorta est confitenti sica de manibus ; caruit foro postea Pompeius, caruit Senatu, caruit publico ; januâ se ac parietibus, non jure legum judiciorumque texit. Num quae rogatio lata ? num quae nova quaestio decreta est ? atqui si res, si vir, si tempus ullum dignum fuit, certè haec in illâ

8. *M. Papirium*—Clodius by a stratagem had got into his hands the son of king Tigranes, whom Pompey brought with him from the east, and kept a prisoner at Rome, in the custody of Flavius the Praetor ; and instead of delivering him up, when Pompey demanded him, undertook, for a large sum of money, to give him his liberty, and send him home. This occasioned a sharp engagement between him and Flavius, who marched out of Rome, with a body of men well armed, to recover the son of Tigranes by force. Clodius however proved too strong for him, and killed a great part of his company ; and among them M. Papirius, an intimate acquaintance of Pompey, while Flavius himself had some difficulty to escape with life.

9. *Temple Castoris*—This temple was contiguous to the Forum and Senate-house. It was built by Posthumius in honour of Castor and Pollux, who were said to have appeared during the battle of Regillus upon white horses, to have marched at the head of the Roman cavalry, striking terror among the Latins ; and in the evening, after the battle, to have carried the first news of the victory to Rome.

causâ summa omnia fuerunt ; insidiator erat in foro collocatus, atque in vestibulo ipso Senatûs : ei viro autem mors parabatur, cujus in vitâ nitebatur salus civitatis : eo porrò reipub. tempore, quò si unus ille occidisset, non hæc solùm civitas, sed gentes omnes concidissent ; nisi fortè, quia perfecta res non est, non fuit puniendâ : perinde quasi exitas rerum, non hominum consilia legibus vindicentur ; minùs dolendum fuit, re non perfectâ, sed puniendum certè nihilo minùs. ¹Quoties ego ipse, Judices, ex P. Clodii telis et ensis ejus manibus effugi ? ex quibus si me non vel mea vel reipublicæ fortuna servasset, quis tandem de interitu meo quaestionem talisset ?

VIII. ²Sed stulti sumus, qui Drusum, qui Africanum, Pompeium, nosmetipsos cum P. Clodio conferre audeamus ; tolerabilia fuerunt illa, P. Clodii mortem æquo animo nemo ferre potest ; lugeat Senatus : moeret equester ordo : tota civitas confecta senio est : squalent municipia : affligantur coloniae : agri denique ipsi tam beneficium, tam salutarem, tam mentis civem desiderant. Non fuit ea causa, Judices, profectò non fuit, cur sibi censeret Pompeius quaestionem ferendam : sed homo sapiens, et altâ et divini quâdam mente præditus, multa vidit ; ³fuisse sibi illum inimicum, familiarem Milonem ; in communi om-

1. *Quoties, etc.*—The cause of the enmity of Clodius towards Cicero has already been mentioned. See introduction to this oration.

2. *Sed stulti sumus, etc.*—The student will easily perceive the irony of this sentence.

3. *Fuisse sibi illum inimicum*—Pompey was afterwards reconciled to Clodius, because Clodius took his part, and wore his ordinary dress, when the Senate decreed a public mourning, because they could not prevent Pompey and Crassus from soliciting the consulship a second time.

omnium laetitiâ, si etiam ipse gauderet, timuit, ne videretur infirmior fides reconciliatae gratiae: multa etiam alia vidit, sed illud maximè; quamvis atrocitèr ipse tulisset, vos tamen fortitèr judicatu-ros. Itaque delegit e *florentissimis ordinibus ipsa lumina: neque verò, quod nonnulli dictitant, secrevit in iudici- bus legendis amicos meos; neque enim hoc cogitavit vir justissimus, neque in bonis viris legendis id assequi potuisset, etiamsi cupisset; non enim mea gratia familiaritatibus continetur, quae latè patere non possunt; propterea quòd consuetudines victus non possunt esse cum multis; sed si quid possumus, ex eo possumus, quòd respublica nos conjunxit cum bonis; ex quibus ille cum optimos viros legeret, idque maximè ad fidem suam pertinere arbitraretur, non potuit legere non studiosos mei. Quòd verò te, *L. Domiti, huic quaestioni praeesse maximè voluit, nihil quaesivit aliud, nisi justitiam, gravitatem, humanitatem, fidem: tulit, ut consularem necesse esset: credo, quod principum munus esse ducebat resistere et levitati multitudinis, et perditorum temeritati; ex consularibus te creavit potissimùm; dederas enim, quàm contemneres populares insanias, jam ab adolescentia documenta maxima.

IX. Quamobrem, Judices, ut aliquando ad causam crimenque veniamus; si neque omnis confessio facti

4. *Florentissimis ordinibus*—From the senatorial and equestrian ranks.

5. *L. Domiti*—Lucius Domitius Aenobarbus was president of this trial. It formerly happened, when Cneius Manlius seditiously enacted a law, declaring that the freedmen of every tribe should be vested with a power of voting, and had forcibly taken possession of the capitol, that this Domitius drove him from it, and slew many of his followers.

est inusitata, neque de causâ quidquam nostrâ aliter, ac nos vellemus, a Senatu judicatum est; et lator ipse legis, cum esset controversia nulla facti, juris tamen disceptationem esse voluit: et electi iudices, isque praepositus quaestioni, qui haec justè sapientèrque disceptet: reliquum est, Iudices, ut nihil jam aliud quaerere debeatis, nisi uter utri insidias fecerit: quod quò faciliùs argumentis perspicere possitis, rem gestam vobis dum breviter expono, quaeso diligentèr attendite. P. Clodius cum statuisset omni scelere in praeturâ vexare rempub. videretque ita tracta esse comitia anno superiore, ut non multos menses praeturam gerere posset: qui non honoris gradum spectaret, ut caeteri, sed et ^oL. Paulum collegam effugere vellet, singulari virtute civem, et annum integrum ad dilacerandam rempub. quaereret; subito reliquit annum suum, seque in annum proximum transtulit, non, ut fit, religione aliquâ, sed ut haberet, quod ipse dicebat, ad praeturam gerendam, hoc est, ad evitendam rempublicam ⁷plenum annum atque integrum: occurrebat ei, mancam ac debilem praeturam suam futuram, consule Milone; eum porrò summo consensu populi Romani consulem fieri videbat; contulit se ad ejus competitores: sed ita, totam ut petitionem

6. *L. Paulum*—Lucius Paulus, says Cicero, (*In Vatinius*) was a man designed by nature for supporting and defending the commonwealth. Clodius refused him as his colleague, on account of his spotless honour and untainted character.

7. *Plenum annum*—After the Comitia for electing magistrates had, by the intrigues of the factious, been postponed for a full half year, Clodius withdrew his claim, and waited till the next election, that he might have a whole year to exercise his authority and effect his designs.

8. *Ejus competitores*—The competitors of Milo were Publius Plautius Hypsoeus and Quintus Metellus Scipio, who were not only profuse in bribes, but were also supported by armed factions.

ipse solus, etiam invitis illis, gubernaret: tota ut comitia suis, ut dictitabat, humeris sustineret; convocabat tribus; se interponebat; coloniam novam, delectu perditissimorum scribebat civium; quanto ille plura miscebat, tanto hic magis in dies convalescebat. Ubi vidit homo ad omne facinus paratissimus fortissimum virum, inimicissimum suum, certissimum consulem; idque intellexit non solum scriponibus, sed etiam suffragiis populi Rom. sæpè esse declaratum; palàm agere coepit, et apertè dicere, occidendum Milonem: servos agrestes et barbaros, quibus silvas publicas depopulatus erat, Etruriamque vexarat, ex Apennino deduxerat, quos videbatis; res erat minime obscura; etenim palàm dictitabat, consulatum Miloni eripi non posse, vitam posse; significavit hoc sæpè in Senatu, dixit in concione: quin etiam Favonio, fortissimo viro, quaerenti ex eo, quâ spe funcret, Milone vivo, respondit, triduo illum, ad summum quadriduo, periturum; quam vocem ejus ad hunc M. Catonem statim Favonius detulit.

X. Interim cum sciret Clodius (neque enim erat difficile scire) iter solenne, legitimum, necessarium ante diem XIII. Kalend. Febr. Miloni esse Lanuvium ad flaminem prodendum, quod erat dictator Lanuvii Milo, Româ subito ipse profectus pridie est, ut ante suum fundum (quod re intellectum est) Miloni in-

9. *Apennino*—The Apennine mountains are about six hundred miles in length, and divide Italy.

1. *Lanuvium*—Lauvium was a free borough, about twelve miles distant from Rome, and is, by Appian, said to have been built by Diomedes upon his landing in Italy after the siege of Troy. In it was the famous temple of Juno, the goddess of health; to officiate in which temple a priest was yearly appointed by the Dictator.

sidas collocaret; atque ita profectus est, ut ²concionem turbulentam, in quâ ejus furor desideratus est, quæ illo ipso die habita est, relinqueret; quam, nisi obire facinoris locum tempusque voluisset, nunquam reliquisset. Milo autem, cum in Senatu fuisset eodîe, quoad Senatus dimissus est, domum venit: ³calceas et vestimenta mutavit: paulisper dum se uxor, et fit, comparat, commemoratus est: deinde profectus est id temporis, cum jam Clodius, si quidem eo die Romam venturus erat, redire potuisset; obviam fit ei Clodius expeditus, in equo, nullâ rhedâ, nullis impedimentis, ⁴nullis Græcis comitibus, ut solebat; sine ⁵uxore, quod nunquam ferè: cum hic insidiator, qui iter illud ad caedem faciendam apparasset, cum ⁶uxore veheretur in rhedâ, penulatus, magno et impedito, et muliebri ac delicato ancillarum puerorumque comitatu; fit obviam Clodio ante fundum ejus ⁷horâ ferè undecimâ, aut non multò secùs; statim complures cum telis in hunc faciunt de loco superiore impetum:

2. *Concionem turbulentam*—The same day that Clodius was killed, Caius Sallustius and Quintus Pompeius, Tribunes of the people, and enemies to Milo, held and harangued a tumultuous assembly of their partisans. From this meeting Clodius abruptly departed.

3. *Calceas*—The shoes were a distinguishing mark of a Senator, and part of his senatorial dress.

4. *Nullis Græcis comitibus*—The richer class of the Romans, when they travelled, were for the most part accompanied by some Grecians, who were either musicians for their diversion, or philosophers for their improvement and instruction.

5. *Uxore*—The wife of Clodius was Fulvia, who was afterwards married to Mark Antony: She bore such enmity to Cicero, that, after he was dead, she spit upon his head, and thrust her bodkin through his tongue.

6. *Uxore*—Milo's wife was Fausta, daughter of Sylla, the Dictator.

7. *Horâ undecimâ*—The Romans reckoned twelve hours from the rising to the setting sun. These hours varied in their length with the season of the year. The eleventh hour in winter corresponded with half past 3 o'clock, according to our mode of reckoning time.

adversi rhedarium occidunt ; cum autem hic de rhedâ, rejectâ penulâ, desilisset, seque acri animo defenderet ; illi, qui erant cum Clodio, gladiis eductis, partim recurrere ad rhedam, ut a tergo Milonem adorirentur ; partim, quod hunc jam interfectum putarent, caedere incipiunt ejus servos, qui post erant ; ex quibus, qui animo fideli in dominum et praesenti fuerunt, partim occisi sunt, partim, cum ad rhedam pugnari viderent, et domino succurrere prohiberentur, Milonemque occisum etiam ex ipso Clodio audirent, et reverà putarent ; fecerunt id servi Milonis, (dicam enim non derivandî criminis causâ, sed ut factum est) neque imperante, neque sciente, neque praesente domino, quod suos quisque servos in tali re facere voluisset.

XI. Haec, sicut exposui, ita gesta sunt, Judices : insidiator superatus, vi victa vis, vel potiùs oppressa virtute audacia est. Nihil dico, quid respublica consetuta sit, nihil, quid vos, nihil, quid omnes boni : nihil sanè id prosit Miloni, qui hoc fato natus est, ut ne se quidem servare potuerit, quin unâ rempublicam vosque servaret : si id jure non posset, nihil habeo quod defendam : sin hoc et ratio doctis, et necessitas barbaris, et mos gentibus, et feris natura ipsa praescripserit, ut omnem semper vim, quâcunque ope possent, a corpore, a capite, a vitâ suâ propulsarent ; non potestis hoc facinus improbum judicare, quin simul judicetis, omnibus, qui in latrones inciderint, aut illorum telis aut vestris sententiis esse per-eundum. Quòd si ita putasset ; certè optabilius Miloni fuit dare jugulum P. Clodio, non semel ab illo neque tum primùm petittum, quàm jugulari a vo-

bis, quia se illi non jugulandum tradidisset : sin hoc nemo vestrum ita sentit ; illud jam in judicium venit, non occisus-ne sit, quod fatemur : sed, jure an injuriâ : quod multis antea in causis jam quaesitum est. Insidias factas esse constat : et id est, quod Senatus contra rempublicam factum judicavit : ab utro factae sint, incertum est ; de hoc igitur latum est, ut quaeretur. Ita et Senatus rem, non hominem-notavit, et Pompeius de jure, non de facto quaestionem tulit.

XII. Nunquid igitur aliud in judicium venit, nisi uter utri insidias fecerit ? profecto nihil ; si ⁸ hic illi ; ut ne sit impunè : si ille huic ; tam nos scelere solvamus. Quonam igitur pacto probari potest, insidias Miloni fecisse Clodium ? satis est quidem in illâ tam audaci, tam nefariâ belluâ docere magnam ei causam, magnam spem in Milonis morte propositam, magnas utilitates fuisse. Itaque illud ⁹ Cassianum, CUI BONO FUERIT, in his personis valeat ; etsi boni nullo emolumento impelluntur in fraudem, improbi saepè parvo. Atqui, Milone interfecto, Clodius hoc asequencebatur, non modò ut praetor esset non eo consule, quo sceleris nihil facere posset ; sed etiam ut his consulibus praetor esset, quibus si non adjuvantibus, at conniventibus certè, sperâset se posse rempublicam eludere in illis suis cogitatis furoribus ; cujus illi conatus, ut ipse ratiocinabatur, nec, si possent, reprimere cuperent, cum tantum beneficium ei se de-

8. *Hic*—Milo—*illi*—Clodius.

9. *Cassianum*—Cassius, says Asconius, was a man of uncommon severity, and always, when he was examining, enquired what prospect of advantage could arise to the murderer from the fact. (*Cui bono fuerit.*) His tribunal was commonly called the Rock, upon which the guilty split.

bere arbitarentur ; et, si vellent, fortasse vix pos-
sent frangere hominis sceleratissimi corroboratam jam
vetustate audaciam. An verò, Judices, vos soli ig-
noratis ? vos hospites in hac urbe versamini ? vestras
peregrinantur aures, neque in hoc pervagato civita-
tis sermone versantur, quas ille leges (si leges nomi-
nandae sunt, ac non faeces urbis et pestes reipublicae)
fuerit impositurus nobis omnibus, atque inustus ?
Exhibe, quaeso, ¹*Sexte Clodi*, exhibe librarium illud
legumstrarum, quod te aiunt eripuisse e domo, et
ex mediis armis, turbâque nocturnâ, tanquam ²*Palla-*
dium, sustulisse, ut praeclarum videlicet munus ac
instrumentum tribunatûs ad aliquem, si nactus esses,
qui tuo arbitrio tribunatum gereret, deferre posses.
Et aspexit me quidem illis oculis, quibus tum sole-
bat, ³*cum omnibus omnia minabatur* ; mox me quip-
po ⁴*lumen curiae*.

XIII. Quid ? te me fratrem, *Sexte*, putas tibi, cu-
jus tu inimicissimum multò crudeliùs etiam punitus
es, quàm erat humanitatis meae postulare ? Tu *P.*
Clodii cruentum cadaver ejecisti domo : tu in publi-

1. *Sexte Clodi*—This Sextus Clodius was a kinsman of Clodius, and according to Asconius, brought the body of Clodius into the senate-house.

2. *Palladium*—The *Palladium* was a wooden image of Pallas, which the Trojans imagined had fallen from heaven into an uncovered temple. Upon consulting the oracle, they were told, that Troy should be safe so long as it remained there. Some think, that Diomedes, others, that Ulysses carried it off ; but however this matter be, it is certain, that it was lodged in the temple of Vesta, and rescued from the flames of that edifice by Metellus, the high priest.

3. *Cum omnibus omnia minabatur*—Sextus Clodius was a secretary of Publius Clodius, and a minister of his fury.

4. *Lumen curiae*—This Sextus Clodius has been called a busy, pragmatical, ignorant demagogue, whom in rally Cicero calls "the light of the courts of law."

cum abjecisti : tu ⁵spoliatum imaginibus, exequiis, pompâ, laudatione, infelicissimis lignis semiustulatum, nocturnis canibus dilaniandum reliquisti ; quam rem etsi necessario fecisti, tamen, quoniam in meo inimico crudelitatem exprompsisti tuam, laudare non possum, irasci certè non debeo. P. Clodii praeturam non sine maximo rerum novarum metu proponi, et solutam fore videbatis, nisi esset is consûl, qui eam auderet possetque constringere. ⁶Eum Milonem esse cum sentiret universus populus Romanus, quis dubitaret suffragio suo, se metu, periculo rempublicam liberare ? At nunc, P. Clodio ~~remoto~~, usitatis jam rebus enitendum est Miloni, ut tueatur dignitatem suam ; singularis illa huic uni, concessa gloria, quae quotidie augebatur frangendis furoribus Clodianis, jam morte Clodii cecidit. Vos adepti estis, ne quem civem metueretis : hic exercitationem virtutis, suffragationem consulatûs, fontem perennem gloriae suae perdidit. Itaque Milonis consulatus, qui, vivo Clodio, labefactari non poterat, mortuo denique ten-

5. *Spoliatum imaginibus, etc.*—We are told by Pliny, that the halls of the great men among the Romans were adorned with waxen images of their deceased friends, and that, when any of the family was to be buried, these images were carried in the procession.—*Laudatione*—This word also refers to a custom among the Romans ; when any one of an illustrious family died, one of the friends was elected to pronounce an eulogium on his worth.—*Infelicissimis lignis semiustulatum*—These words refer to Clodius' body being burnt with the desks, tables, etc. in the Forum. The word *infelicissimis* is used, because at the funerals of great men, amomum, balsam, etc. were used.—*Canibus dilaniandum*—Sextus Clodius was obliged to leave the body half burned, on account of the danger of the fire, which prevented him from rescuing it from the flames.

6. *Eum Milonem, etc.*—The well disposed part of the people wished Milo to be Consul, because he alone could restrain the seditions of Clodius.

tari coepit est. Non modò igitur nihil prodest, sed obest etiam P. Clodii mors Miloni. At valuit odium, fecit iratus, fecit inimicus, fecit ultor injuriæ, punitor doloris sui : quid, si hæc, non dico majora fuerunt in Clodio quàm in Milone, sed in illo maxima, nulla in hoc ? quid vultis amplius ? quid enim odisset Clodium Milo, segetem ac materiem suæ gloriæ, præter hoc civile odium, quo omnes improbos odimus ? ille erat ut odisset, primùm defensorem salutis meæ ; deinde vexatorem furoris, domitorem armorum suorum ; postremò etiam accusatorem suum : reus enim Milonis ¹lege Plotia fuit Clodius, quoad vixit : quo tandem animo hoc ²tyrannum tulisse creditis ? quantum odium illius ? et, in homine injusto, quàm etiàm justum esse ?

XIV. Reliquum est, ut jam illum natura ipsius consuetudoque defendat ; hunc autem hæc eadem coarguant ; nihil per vim unquam Clodius, omnia per vim Milo. Quid ergo, Judices ? cum moerentibus vobis ¹urbe cessi, judicium-ne timui ? ²non servos,

7. *Ille erat ut odisset*—Cicero here assigns the reasons why Clodius hated Milo ; the first was, because Milo, when he was Tribune of the people, exerted himself to have Cicero recalled from banishment ; the second, because, when Clodius endeavoured to execute some of his factious designs, Milo prevented him ; the third, because Milo had brought an accusation against him.

8. *Lege Plotia*—This law was enacted by P. Plautius, Tribune of the people, in the year of Rome 675, against those, who attempted any force against the state or Senate, or used any violence to the magistrates, or appeared armed in publick upon any ill design, or forcibly expelled any person from his lawful possession. The punishment assigned to the convicted was *aquæ et ignis interdictis*.

9. *Tyrannum*—Clodius.

1. *Urbe cessi*—It has already been observed, that the laws and violence of Clodius drove Cicero into exile.

2. *Non servos, non arma, non vim*—When Cicero found himself reduced to the condition of a criminal by one of Clodius' laws, he changed his habit, as was usual in the case of a publick impeach-

non arma, non vim? quae fuisset igitur causa restituendi mei, nisi fuisset injusta ejiciendi? Diem mihi, credo, dixerat,¹ mulctam irrogarat, actionem perduellionis intenderat; et ²mihi videlicet, in causâ aut malâ, aut meâ, non et praeclarissimâ et vestrâ, judicium timendum fuit; ³servorum, et egentium civium, et facinorosorum armis meos cives, meis consiliis periculisque servatos, pro me objici nolui. Vidi enim, vidi hunc ipsum ⁴Q. Hortensium, lumen et ornamentum reipublicae, penè interfici servorum manu, cum mihi adesset, quâ in turbâ ⁵C. Vibienus, senator, vir optimus, cum hoc cum esset unâ, ita est mulctatus, ut vitam amiserit. Itaque quando illius postea sica illa, quam ⁶a Catilinâ acceperat, conquievit? haec intentata nobis est: huic ego vos objici pro me non sum passus: haec ⁷insidiata Pompeio est: haec is-

ment, and appeared about the streets in a sordid mourning gown, to excite the compassion of his fellow citizens; whilst Clodius, at the head of his mob, contrived to meet and insult him at every turn, reproaching him for his cowardice and dejection, and throwing dirt and stones at him.

3. *Mihi videlicet, etc.*—This is irony.

4. *Servorum et egentium*—Many of Cicero's friends advised him, before he went into banishment, to try his fate in arms against Clodius; but, having the welfare and happiness of his fellow citizens at heart, he resolved rather to banish himself, than expose them to danger.

5. *Q. Hortensium*—When Cicero was banished, the Senate passed an order to go into mourning on account of his banishment, and, in some exertions made to induce Clodius to throw off his military robes and appear in a plain dress according to the resolve of the Senators, a tumult took place, in which Hortensius was wounded. For the character of Hortensius, see note 3rd, page 117th.

6. *C. Vibienus*—This Senator also was wounded in the tumult.—*Mulctatus*—i. e. injured.

7. *A Catilinâ*—Clodius was a friend of Catiline.

8. *Insidiata Pompeio*—Cicero has mentioned before in this oration, that Clodius had placed in ambuscade an assassin to kill Pompey. The orator took care not to let the judges or Pompey forget this circumstance, and by reminding them of it, he hoped to persuade the judges, that Pompey could not be so great a friend to Clodius, as he was supposed to be.

tam Appiam viam, monumentum sui nominis, ²nece Papirii cruentavit: haec, haec eadem longo intervallo conversa rursus est in me: ¹nuper quidem, ut scitis, me ad regiam penè confecit. Quid simile Milonis? cujus vis omnis haec semper fuit, ne P. Clodius, cum in iudicium detrahi non posset, vi oppressam civitatem teneret: quem si interficere voluisset, quantae, quoties occasiones, quàm praeclarae fuerunt? potuit-ne, cum domum ac deos Penates suos, illo oppugnante, defenderet, jure se ulcisci? potuit-ne, civè egregio et viro fortissimo ²P. Sextio, collegâ suo, vulnerato? potuit-ne, ³Q. Fabricio, viro optimo, cum de reditu meo legem ferret, pulso, crudelissimâ in foro caede factâ? potuit-ne, L. Caecilii, justissimi fortissimique praetoris, oppugnatâ domo? potuit-ne illo diè, cum est lata lex de me? ⁴cum totius Italiae concursus, quem mea salus concitârat, facti illius gloriâ libens agnovisset; ut, etiam si id Milo fecisset, cuncta civitas ⁵eam laudem pro suâ vindicaret?

XV. Atqui erat id temporis clarissimus et fortis-

9. *Nece Papirii*—See note 8th, page 224th.

1. *Nuper quidem, etc.*—It is not easy to determine on what occasion it was, that Clodius made this attack upon Cicero. Asconius imagines, that it was in the consulship of Domitius and Messala, when the parties of Hypsoeus and Milo fought in the *sacred way*, and several were killed on the side of Milo.

2. *P. Sextio*—Sextius was a Tribune of the people; and was attacked and wounded by the Clodians, because he gave his vote for Cicero's return from exile. In an oration for Sextius, Cicero says, that magistrate received twenty wounds, and escaped death by feigning to be dead.

3. *Q. Fabricio*—Fabricius held the office of Tribune, the same time Sextius did, and was treated by the party of Clodius in the same manner, when he attempted to aid the law passed for Cicero's return.

4. *Cum totius Italiae*—All Italy expressed the greatest joy at Cicero's return, and conferred upon him the highest honours.

5. *Eam laudem*—The glory of having put Clodius to death.

simus consul, inimicus Clodio, ⁶P. Lentulus, ultor sceleris illius, propugnator Senatûs, defensor vestrae voluntatis, patronus illius publici consensûs, restitutor salutis meae; ⁷septem praetores, octo tribuni plebis, illius adversarii, defensores mei; ⁸Cn. Pompeius, auctor et dux mei reditûs, ⁹illius hostis; cujus sententiam Senatus omnis de salutē meā gravissimam et ornatissimam secutus est; qui populum Romanum cohortatus est; qui, cum de me ¹decretum Capuae fecisset, ipse cunctae Italiae cupienti et ejus fidem imploranti signum dedit, ut ad me restituendum Romam concurrerent: omnia tum denique in illum odia civium ardebant desiderio mei; quem qui tum interemisset, non de impunitate ejus, sed de praemiis cogitaretur. Tamen se Milo continuit, et P. Clodium ad judicium bis, ad vim nunquam vocavit. Quid? pri-

6. *P. Lentulus*—Publius Lentulus Spinther, who was a great friend to Cicero, and in whose Consulship Cicero was recalled.

7. *Septem praetores*—All the Praetors and eight of the Tribunes were in favour of Cicero's being recalled from exile.

8. *Cn. Pompeius*—Pompey, Marcus Crassus, and Julius Caesar, all envied the superiour glory Cicero had acquired by putting an end to the conspiracy of Catiline; for which reason Pompey suffered him to be banished by Clodius, when he might easily have prevented it. But when Pompey understood, that the Senators and all the Roman Knights were angry with him for neglecting to succour a man, to whom both they and he had been so much obliged; and when he saw, that the same danger threatened him from Clodius, he made a motion to the Senate to recall Cicero, (though the Clodian law had expressly forbidden any Praetor, Tribune, or any person whatever to do so) and made mention of his character with the greatest reverence and honour.

9. *Illius hostis*—Cicero again reminds the judges, that Pompey had been an enemy to Clodius.

1. *Decretum Capuae*—Pompey presided in person, when the inhabitants of Capua, where he had planted a colony, made a decree to Cicero's honour; he took the trouble likewise to visit all the other colonies and chief towns in these parts, to appoint them a day of general rendezvous at Rome, to assist in the promulgation of the law for Cicero's return.

vato Milone et ²reo ad populum, accusante P. Clodio, cum in Cn. Pompeium pro Milone dicentem impetus factus est; quae tum non modò occasio, sed etiam causa illius opprimendi fuit? Nuper verò, cum ³M. Antonius summam spem salutis bonis omnibus attulisset, gravissimamque adolescens nobilissimus reipub. partem fortissimè suscepisset, atque ⁴illam belluam, iudicii laqueos declinantem, jam irretitam teneret; qui locus, quod tempus illud, dii immortales, fuit? cum se ille fugiens in scalarum tenebras abdidisset, magnum Miloni fuit conficere illam pestem nullâ suâ invidiâ, Antonii verò maximâ gloriâ? Quid? comitiis in campo quoties potestas fuit? cum ille vi in ⁵septa irruisset, gladios distringendos, lapides jaciendos curâset, deinde subitò, vultu Milonis perterritus, fugeret ad Tiberim, vos et omnes boni vota faceretis, ut Miloni uti virtute suâ liberet?

XVI. Quem igitur cum omnium gratiâ noluit, hunc voluit cum aliquorum querela? quem jure, quem loco, quem tempore, quem impunè non est ausus; hunc

2. *Reo*—When Milo was accused by Clodius of some publick misdemeanor, he was defended by Pompey, who, when he began to speak, was interrupted by the adherents of Clodius. Not content with drowning his voice by the loudness of their clamours, they continued, during the whole time he was speaking, to attack him with reproaches and the most abusive language. Pompey however neither was frightened, nor ceased to speak; but spoke in Milo's favour six hours without intermission.

3. *M. Antonius*—Mark Antony pursued Clodius with a design to kill him, which he in reality would have done, had not Clodius taken shelter in a bookseller's shop, and concealed himself beneath a dark staircase. This was the same Antony, who afterwards waged a civil war against Augustus. He was at first a great friend to Cicero, but afterwards became his enemy, and at last proved the author of his death.

4. *Illam belluam*—Clodius.

5. *Septa*—Enclosures, in which the people stood, when the *Comitia* were held.

injuriâ, iniquo loco, alieno tempore, periculo capitis non dubitavit occidere? praesertim, Judices, cum honoris amplissimi contentio, et dies comitiorum subesset; quo quidem tempore (scio enim quàm timida sit ambitio, quantaque et quàm sollicita cupiditas consulatûs) omnia, non modò quae reprehendi palàm, sed etiam quae obscurè cogitari possunt, timeamus; rumorem, fabulam fictam, falsam perhorrescimus; ora omnium atque oculos intuemur; nihil enim est tam molle, tam tenerum, tam aut fragile, aut flexibile, quàm voluntas erga nos sensusque civium; qui non modò improbitati irascuntur ⁶ candidatorum, sed etiam in rectè factis saepè fastidiunt. (Hunc diem igitur campi spectatum atque exoptatum sibi proponens Milo; cruentis manibus scelus et facinus prae se ferens et confitens, ad illa ⁷ augusta centuriarum auspicia veniebat? quàm hoc non credibile in hoc? quàm idem in Clodio non dubitandum, quin se ille, interfecto Milone, regnaturum putaret? Quid? quòd caput audaciae est, Judices: quis ignorat, maximam illàcebram esse peccandi impunitatis spem? in utro igitur haec fuit? in Milone, qui etiam nunc reus est facti aut praeclari, aut certè necessarii? an in Clodio, qui ita judicia poenamque ⁸ contempserat, ut eum nihil delectaret, quod aut per naturam fas esset, aut per leges liceret?

6. *Candidatorum*--This sentence is fraught with instruction for the ambitious.--*Candidatus* was a term applied to those, who sought magistracies in Rome; they were dressed in *white* robes to distinguish them from other people; they derived their appellation from the word *cancti lus*--*white*.

7. *Augusta auspicia*--The epithet *augusta* is used, because sacred rites were performed before the elections commenced.

8. *Contempserat*--Alluding to his bribing the judges, when he was tried for having profaned the mysteries of Good Goddess.

Sed quid ego argumentor? quid plura disputo? te Q. Petili, appello, optimum et fortissimum civem; te, M. Cato, testor; quos mihi divina quaedam sors dedit iudices: vos ex M. Favonio audistis, Clodium sibi dixisse, et audistis, vivo Clodio, periturum Milonem triduo; post diem tertium gesta res est, quam dixerat: cum ille non dubitaret aperire, quid cogitaret; vos potestis dubitare, quid fecerit?

XVII. Quemadmodum igitur eum dies non fefellit? dixi equidem modò. Dictatoris Lanuvini stata sacrificia nōsse, negotii nihil erat; vidit necesse esse Miloni proficisci Lanuvium illo ipso, quo profectus est, die: itaque antevertit: at quo die? quo, ut ante dixi, fuit insanissima concio ab ipsius ⁹mercenario tribuno plebis concitata; quem diem ille, quam consensionem, quos clamores, nisi ad cogitatum facinus appropinquaret, nunquam reliquisset. Ergo illi ne causa quidem itineris, etiam causa manendi; Miloni manendi nulla facultas, exeundi non causa solū, sed etiam necessitas fuit. Quid, si, ut ille scivit Milonem fore eo die in viā, sic Clodium Milo ne suspicari quidem potuit? Primum quaero, quā scire poterit; quod vos idem in Clodio quaerere non potestis: ut enim neminem aliam, nisi ¹T. Patinam, familiarissimum suum, rogasset, scire potuit, illo ipso die Lanuvii a dictatore Milone prodi flaminem necesse esse: sed erant permulti alii, ex quibus id facillimè

9. *Mercenario tribuno plebi.*—This Tribune was Quintus Pompeius, who called a tumultuous assembly on the day, in which Clodius was killed, and pronounced severe invectives against Milo and Cicero.

1. *T. Patinam.*—Titus Patinas resided at Lanuvium, and was an intimate acquaintance of Clodius.

scire posset, omnes scilicet Lanuvini. Milo de Clodii reditu unde quaesivit? quaesierit sanè. Videte, quid vobis largiar; servum etiam, ut Arrius, meus amicus, dixit, corruerit. Legite testimonia testium vestrorum; dixit C. Cassinius, cognomento Scola, ²Interamnas, familiarissimus et idem comes P. Clodii, (cujus jampridem testimonio Clodius eadem hora Interamnae fuerat et Romae) P. Clodium illo die in ³Albano mansurum fuisse; sed subito ei esse nuntiatum, ⁴Cyrum architectum esse mortuum; itaque Romam repente constituisse proficisci: dixit hoc comes item P. Clodii, ⁵C. Clodius.

XVIII. Videte, Judices, quantae res his testimoniis sint confectae. Primum certè liberatur Milo, non eo consilio profectus esse, ut insidiaretur in viâ Clodio; quippe qui ei obviurus futurus omnino non erat: deinde (non enim video, cur non meum quoque agam negotium) scitis, Judices, fuisse, qui in hac rogatione suadendâ dicerent, Milonis manu caedem esse factam, consilio verò ⁶majoris alicujus. Videlicet me latronem ac sicarium ⁷abjecti homines et perditii describebant. Jacent suis testibus ii, qui Clodium negant eo

2. *Interamnas*---Interamna was a city of Umbria, and was so called because it was situated between two rivers.

3. *Albano*---Alba was so called from Ascanius' having there found a white sow, according to the prediction, mentioned by Virgil. See the *Aeneid*, book IIIrd, line 389th, and the following.

4. *Cyrum*---Cicero speaks of this Cyrus, the architect, in his letters to Atticus, but we have no account of his history.

5. *C. Clodius*---This was a brother of Clodius, and, Asconius relates, his two sons were the accusers of Milo.

6. *Alicujus majoris*---Cicero himself, upon whom these words were bestowed, because, as he had been Consul, he was precedent to Milo in dignity.

7. *Abjecti homines*---Q. Pompeius and C. Sallustius, enemies of Cicero.

die Romam, nisi de Cyro auditum esset, reditum fuisse. Respiravi : liberatus sum : non vereor, ne, quod ne suspicari quidem potuerim, videar id cogitasse. Nunc persequar caetera ; nam occurrit illud : Igitur ne Clodius quidem de insidiis cogitavit, quoniam fuit in Albano mansurus, si quidem exiturus ad caedem e villâ non fuisset : video enim illum, qui dicitur de Cyri morte nunciâsse, non id nunciâsse, sed Milonem appropinquare ; nam quid de Cyro nunciaret, quem Clodius Româ proficiscens reliquerat morientem ? unâ fui : *testamentum simul obsignavi cum Clodio : testamentum autem palàm fecerat, et illum haeredem et me scripserat : quem pridie *horâ tertiâ animam efflantem reliquisset, eum mortuum postridie horâ decimâ denique ei nunciabatur ?

XIX. Age, sit ita factum : quae causa, cur Romam properaret ? cur in noctem se conjiceret ? quid afferebat festinatio ? quòd haeres erat ? primùm erat nihil, cur properato opus esset ; deinde, si quid esset, quid tandem erat, quod eâ nocte consequi posset, amitteret autem, si postridie manè Romam venisset ? Atque, ut illi nocturnus ad urbem adventus vitandus potius, quàm expetendus fuit ; sic Miloni, cum insidiator esset, si illum ad urbem noctu accessurum sciebat, subsistendum atque expectandum fuit. Noctu, invidioso et pleno latronum in loco occidisset ; nemo ei neganti non credidisset, quem esse omnes salvum, etiam confitentem, volunt. Sustinuisset hoc cri-

8. *Testamentum, etc.*—To make wills valid in Rome, it was requisite, that there should be seven witnesses present ; then the heirs signed and sealed the testament.

9. *Hora tertiâ*—About nine in the morning—*Horâ decimâ*—about four in the afternoon.

men primùm ipse ille latronum occultator ét ¹receptator locus, dum neque muta solitudo indicâsset, neque caeca nox ostendisset Milonem : deinde ibi multi ab ²illo violati, spoliati, bonis expulsi, multi etiâ haec timentes in suspicionem caderent ; tota denique rea citaretur ³Etruria. Atquē die illo certē ⁴Ariciâ rediens divertit Clodius ad Albanum ; quòd ut sciret illum Milo Ariciae fuisse, suspicari tamen debuit, eum, etiâ si Romam illo die reverti vellet, ad villam suam, quae viam tangeret, diversurum ; cur neque ante occurrit, ne in villâ resideret ; nec eo in loco subsedit, quò ille noctu venturus esset ? Video adhuc constare omnia, Judices : Miloni etiâ utile fuisse, Clodium vivere ; illi, ad ea, quae concupierat, optatissimum interitum Milonis fuisse : odium fuisse illius in hunc acerbissimum, in illum hujus nullum : consuetudinem illius perpetuam in vi inferenda ; hujus tantum in repellendâ : mortem ab illo denunciâtam Miloni, et praedicatam palâm ; nihil unquam auditum ex Milone : profectionis hujus diem illi notum ; reditum illius huic ignotum fuisse : hujus iter necessarium ; illius etiâ potiùs alienum : hunc prae se tulisse se illo die Româ exiturum ; illum eo die se dissimulasse rediturum : hunc nullius rei mutasse consilium ; illum causam mutandi consilii finxisse : huic, si insidiaretur, noctem prope urbem expectandam ; illi, etiâ

1. *Receptator locus*--In the Appian way there stood a tomb of one Basilus, a very rich man ; this place was famous for the many murders committed near it.

2. *Illo*--Clodius.

3. *Etruria*--Clodius had often appeared in arms to banish the Etrurians from their possessions.--Etruria lies upon the Tuscan sea, and reaches to the Tiber.

4. *Ariciâ*--Aricia was a town of Latium, on the Appian way.

si hânc non timeret, tamen accessum ad urbem nocturnum fuisse metuendum.

XX. Videamus nunc id, quod caput est : locus ad insidias ille ipse, ubi congressi sunt, utri tandem fuerit aptior ? Id verò, Judices, etiam dubitandum, et diutiùs cogitandum est ? ante fundum Clodii : quo in fundo propter insanas illas substructiones facilè mille hominum versabatur valentium. Editio atque excelso loco superiorem se fore putabat Milo, et ob eam rem eum locum ad pugnam potissimùm delegerat ? an in eo loco est potius expectatus ab eo, qui ipsius loci spe facere impetum cogitârat ? Res loquitur, Judices, ipsa ; quae semper valet plurimum : si haec non gesta audirētis, sed picta viderētis ; tamen appareret, uter esset insidiator, uter nihil cogitaret mali ; cum alter veheretur in rhedâ penulatus, unâ sederet uxor : quid horum non impeditissimum ? vestitus, an vehiculum, an comes ? quid huius promptum ad pugnam ? cum penulâ irretitus, rhedâ impeditus, uxore penè constrictus esset. Videte nunc illum primum egredientem e villâ subito : cur vesperi ? quid necesse est tardè ? quî convenit, praesertim id temporis ? Divertit in villam Pompeii. Pompeium ut videret ? sciebat in Alsienti esse : villam ut perspiceret ? millies in eâ fuerat : quid ergo erat morae et tergiversationis ? dum hic veniret, locum relinquere noluit.

XXI. Age, nunc iter expediti latronis cum Milonis impedimentis comparete. Semper ille antea cum uxore ; tum sine eâ : nunquam non in rhedâ ; tum in

5. *Id temporis*—The month of February.

6. *Alsienti*—Alsium was a town situated at the mouth of the Tiber.

equo : ⁷comites Graeculi, quòcunque ibat, etiam cum ⁸in castra Etrusca properabat ; tum nugarum in comitatu nihil. Milo, qui nunquam, tum casu pueros symphōniacos uxoris dūtebat et ancillarum greges : ille qui semper secum scorta, semper exoletos, semper lupas duceret ; tum neminem, nisi ut virum a viro lectum esse diceres. Cur igitur victus est ? quia non semper viator a latrone, nonnunquam etiam latro a viatore occiditur ; quia quanquam paratus in imparatos Clodius, tamen ⁹mulier inciderat in viros : nec verò sic erat unquam non paratus Milo contra illum, ut non satīs ferè esset paratus : semper ille et quantum interesset P. Clodii se perire, et quanto illi odio esset, et quantum ille auderet, cogitabat : quamobrem vitam suam, quàm maximis praemiis propositam et penè addictam sciebat. Nunquam in periculum sine praesidio et sine custodiâ projiciebat. Adde casus, adde incertos exitus pugnarum, Martemque communem ; qui saepè spoliantem jam et exultantem evertit et perculit ab abjecto : adde inscitiam pransi, poti, oscitantis ducis ; qui, cum a tergo hostem interclusum reliquisset, nihil de ejus extremis comitibus cogitavit : in quos, incensos irâ vitamque domini desperantes, cum incidisset, haesit in iis poënis, quas ab eo servi fideles pro domini vitâ expetiverunt. Cur igitur eos

7. *Comites Graeculi*—These were Asiatick servants, employed in ministering to the pleasures of their master.

8. *In castra Etrusca*—Cicero frequently charges Clodius with having had a share in Catiline's conspiracy, and to this he refers in this passage. Asconius relates, that Clodius left Rome in order to join the camp of Catiline, when it lay at Faesulae in Tuscany ; but after he had set out, he repented and returned to the city.

9. *Mulier inciderat in viros*—Cicero calls Clodius a woman, because, being very effeminate, he might easily be conquered by Milo.

¹manumisit? metuebat scilicet, ne indicarent: ne dolorem perferre non possent: ne tormentis cogerentur, occisum esse a servis Milonis in Appiâ viâ P. Clodium confiteri. Quid opus est tortore? quid quaeris? occiderit-ne? occidit: jure, an injuriâ? nihil ad tortorem: facti enim in ²equuleo quaestio est, juris in judicio.

XXII. Quod igitur in causâ quaerendum est, id agamus hic: quod tormentis invenire vis, id fatemur. Manu verò cur miserit, si id potiùs quaeris, quàm cur parùm amplis affecerit praemiis; nescis inimici factum reprehendere: dixit enim hic idem, qui omnia semper constantè et fortitè, M. Cato; dixitque in turbulentâ concione, quae tamen ejus auctoritate placata est, non libertate solùm, sed etiam omnibus praemiis dignissimos fuisse, qui domini caput defendissent. Quod enim praemium satis magnum est tam benevolis, tam bonis, tam fidelibus servis, propter quos vivit? etsi id, quidem non tanti est, quàm quòd propter eosdem non sanguine et vulneribus suis ³crudelissimi inimici mentem oculosque satiavit; quos nisi manumisisset, tormentis etiàm dedendi fuissent, conservatores domini, ultores sceleris, defensores necis. Hic verò nihil habet in his malis, quod minùs molestè fe-

1. *Manumisit*—The ceremony of manumission was thus performed: the slave was brought before the Praetor by his master, who, laying his hand upon his servant's head, said to the Praetor, *I will, that this man be free*; and having said this, he let him go out of his hands, which they termed *e manu emittere*. Then the Praetor, laying a rod upon his head, called *vindicta*, said, *Dico eum liberum esse more Quiritium*, and the servant was from that time called *manumitted*, or freedman.

2. *Equuleo*—The *equuleus* was a kind of racking engine in the form of a horse, used by the Romans for the purpose of extorting the truth from their servants, or from malefactors.

3. *Crudelissimi inimici*—Clodius.

rat, quàm, etiam si quid ipsi accidat, esse tamen illis meritum præmium persolutum. Sed ⁴quaestiones urgent Milonem, quae sunt habitae nunc in ⁵atrio Libertatis : quibusnam de servis ? rogas ? de P. Clodii ; quis eos postulavit ? Appius ; quis produxit ? Appius ; unde ? ab Appio. Dii boni ! quid potest agi severiùs ? de servis nulla quaestio est in dominum, nisi de incestu, ut fuit in Clodium : proximè deos accessit Clodius, ⁶propiùs quàm tum, cum ad ipsos penetràrat : cujus de morte, tanquam de caeremōniis violatis, quaeritur. Sed tamen Majores nostri (in dominum de servo quaeri noluerunt,) non quia non posset verum inveniri, sed quia videbatur indignum esse, et domini morte ipsà tristius : in reum de servis accusatoris cum quaeritur, verum inveniri potest ? Age verò, quae erat, aut qualis quaestio ? heus ubi Ruscio, ubi Casca ? Clodius insidias fecit Miloni ? fecit : certa crux. Nullas fecit : sperata libertas. ⁷Quid hâc quaestione certius ? Subitò arrepti in quaestionem, tamen separantur a caeteris, et in arcas conjiciuntur, ne quis cum iis colloqui possit : hi ⁸centum diēs penes accusatorem cum fuissent, ab eo ipso accusatore pro-

4. *Quaestiones, etc.*—According to the Roman law, manumitted servants could not be interrogated upon the rack—Appius Clodius, son of Caius Clodius, brother of Publius Clodius, demanded, that his uncle's servants should be interrogated in that manner.

5. *Atrio Libertatis*—Near the temples were halls, where courts often sat, and the Senate was kept, because it was reckoned unlawful for it to meet in any other than a holy place.—The ancient Romans worshipped Liberty as a goddess ; and to this deity Sempronius Gracchus, the founder of the Gracchian race, caused a temple to be erected out of the money raised by fines.

6. *Propius quam tum*—Cicero refers to Clodius' polluting the mysteries of Good Goddess.

7. *Quid hâc, etc.*—This is ironical.

8. *Centum diēs*—An hundred days had elapsed since the death of Clodius.

ducti sunt : quid hâc quaestione dici potest integrius ? quid incorruptius ?

XXIII. Quòd si nondum satis cernitis, cum res ipsa tot tam claris argumentis signisque luceat, purâ mente atque integrâ Milonem, nullo scelere imbutum, nullo metu perterritum, nullâ conscientîâ exanimatum, Romam revertisse ; recordamini, per deos immortales, quae fuerit ⁹celeritas rexitûs ejus ; qui ingressus in forum, ardente curiâ ; quae magnitudo animi ; qui vultus ; quae oratio. ¹Neque verò se populo solùm, sed etiam Senatui commisit : neque Senatui modo, sed etiam publicis praesidiis et armis : neque his tantùm, verùm etiam ²ejus potestati, cui Senatus totam rempublicam, omnem Italiae pubem, cuncta populi Rom. arma commiserat ; cui se nunquam hic profectò tradidisset, nisi causae suae confideret : praesertim omnia audienti, magna metuenti, multa suspicanti, nonnulla credenti. Magna vis est conscientiae, Judices, et magna in utramque partem : ut neque timeant, qui nihil commiserint ; et poenam semper ante oculos versari putent, qui peccarint. Neque verò sine ratione certâ causa Milonis semper a Senatu probata est ; videbant enim sapientissimi homines facti rationem, praesentiam animi,

9. *Celeritas rexitûs*.—Milo returned to Rome in the night, on which the court was burnt, although many thought he had gone into voluntary banishment.

1. *Neque vero, etc.*.—The Roman people sometimes passed sentence, as in the case of Rabirius found guilty of high treason. The Senate judged in cases of a more atrocious nature, as in the case of the Catilinarian conspirators. The Consuls also were vested with an executive power, when by the decree of the Senate, they were commanded to see that the republic received no detriment.

2. *Ejus potestati*.—Cicero here means Pompey, to whom the Senate gave unlimited commission to protect the republic either from the power of Milo, or from the factions of the friends of Clodius.

defensionis constantiam. An verò oblitus es, Iudices, recenti illo nuncio necis Clodianae, non modò inimicorum Milonis sermones et opiniones, sed nonnullorum etiam imperitorum, qui negabant eum Romanam esse redditurum? Sive enim illud animo irato ac percito fecisset, ut incensus odio trucidaret inimicum, arbitrabantur eum tanti mortem P. Clodii putasse, ut aequo animo patriam careret, cum sanguine inimici expleret odium suum: sive etiam illius morte patriam liberare voluisset, non dubitaturum fortem virum, quin cum suo periculo salutem reipublicae attulisset, cederet aequo animo legibus, secum auferret gloriam sempiternam, nobis haec fruenda linqueret, quae ipse servasset. Multi etiam Catilinam, atque illa ³portenta loquebantur: ERUMPET, occupabit aliquem locum, bellum patriae faciet: miseros interdum cives optimè de republica meritos, in quibus homines non modò res praeclarissimas obliviscuntur, sed etiam nefarias suspicantur! Ergo illa falsa fuerunt; quae certè vera extitissent, si Milo admisisset aliquid, quod non posset honestè verèque defendere.

XXIV. Quid, quae postea sunt in eum congesta? quae, quemvis etiam mediocrium delictorum conscientiam perculissent, ut sustinuit? dii immortales! sustinuit? immo verò ut contempsit ac pro nihilo putavit? quae neque maximo animo nocens, neque innocens, nisi fortissimus vir, negligere potuisset: scutorum, gladiatorum, frenorum, ⁴sparorum, pilorum-

3. *Ille portenta*.—Those wicked characters, who were united with Catiline in the conspiracy.

4. *Sparorum, etc.*.—The *sparus* was a kind of javelin. The *pila* of the Romans were of two kinds; the one was seven feet and an half long, and the iron of it weighed nine ounces: the other was only three feet and an half long, and its weight proportionable.

que etiam multitudo deprehendi posse judicabatur: nullum in urbe ^{vicum}, nullum angiportum esse dicebant, in quo Miloni non esset conducta domus; arma in villam ^{Oericulanam} devecta Tiberi; domus in clivo Capitolino scutis referta; plena omnia ^{malleolorum} ad urbis incendia comparatorum. Haec non delata solùm, sed penè credita; nec antè repudiata sunt, quàm quæsita. Laudabam equidem incredibilem diligentiam Cn. Pompeii; sed dicam, ut sentio, Judices; nimis multa audire coguntur, neque aliter facere possunt, ⁱⁱ, quibus tota commissa est res publica: quin etiam audiendus sit ^{popa} Licinius nescio quis de circo maximo, servos Milonis apud se ebrios factos, sibi confessos esse, de interficiendo Cn. Pompeio conjurasse; deinde postea se gladio percussum esse ab uno de illis, ne indicaret. Pompeio in hortos nunciavit; arcessor in primis; de amicorum sententiâ rem defert ad Senatum: non poteram in illius mei patriaeque custodis tantâ suspicione non metu exanimari; sed mirabar tamen credi popae; [ebriosorum] confessionem servorum audiri;

5. *Vicum, etc.*—According to Varro, there were three kinds of streets in the city of Rome; the *vici*, the *fundulae*, and the *angiporti*; the *vici* were the chief streets, open at both ends; the *fundulae* were open at one end and closed at the other, like what are called *courts* in populous cities: the *angiporti*, were lanes or alleys, so narrow that they admitted only people to walk in them, waggons and carriages of all kinds being too large to enter them.

6. *Oericulanam*—This was a city of Umbria towards Etruria, near the Tiber, in which Milo had a house.

7. *Malleolorum*—*Malleoli* were small bundles of broom covered with pitch; which, being kindled, were thrown on the walls or roofs of houses.

8. *Popa*—This was a term of reproach among the Romans—The *popa* was priest, or butcher, who slew the sacrifices, and offered them up, when slain. His duty was also to purify the houses, in which any one had died.

vulnus in latere, quod aeu punctum videretur, pro ictu gladiatoris probari. Verum tamen, ut intelligo, cavebat magis Pompeius, quàm timebat, non ea solùm quae timenda erant, sed omnino omnia, ne aliquid vos timeretis. Oppugnata domus C. Caesaris, clarissimi et fortissimi viri, per multas noctis horas nunciabatur : nemo audierat ¹tam celebri loco, nemo senserat : tamen audiebatur : non poteram Cn. Pompeium, praestantissimâ virtute civem, timidum suspicari : diligentiam, totâ republicâ susceptâ, nimiam nullam putabam. Frequentissimo Senatu nupèr in Capitolio ²Senator inventus est, qui Milonem cum telo esse diceret : nudavit se in sanctissimo ³templo, quoniam vita talis et civis et viri fidem non faciebat, ut, eo tacente, res ipsa loqueretur.

XXV. Omnia falsa atque insidiosè ficta comperta sunt. Quòd si tamen metuitur etiam nunc Milo, non hoc jam Clodianum crimen timemus, sed tuas, Cn. Pompeii, (te enim jam appello eâ voce, ut me audire possis) ³tuas, tuas, inquam, suspiciones perhorrescimus. Si Milonem times, si hunc de tuâ vitâ nefariè aut nunc cogitare, aut molitum aliquando aliquid putas ; si Italiae delectus, ut nonnulli con-

9. *Tam celebri loco*—Caesar, from the time he was made *Pontifex Maximus*, lived in a large house in the *via sacra*, which was not far from the Forum.

1. *Senator*—Asconius says this Senator was P. Cornificius, and that, when Cicero heard this feeble charge against Milo, he exclaimed, *And such are all the crimes, of which Milo is accused.*

2. *Templo*—i. e. the Senate, which always assembled in a consecrated building.

3. *Tuas suspiciones*—Pompey pretended to fear, that Milo would injure him, and to suspect that Milo had designs hostile to the republic. The reason, which induced him to practise this hypocrisy, has been already suggested : he wished to remove a rival, and therefore was willing Milo should be condemned.

quisitores tui dictitant, si haec arma, si ⁴Capitolinae cohortes, si excubiae, si vigiliae, si delecta juvenus, quae tuum corpus domumque custodit, contra Milonis impetum armata est, atque illa omnia in hunc unum instituta, parata, intenta sunt; magna in hoc certè vis, et incredibilis animus, et non unius viri vires atque opes indicantur, siquidem in hunc unum et praestantissimus dux electus, et tota respublica armata est. Sed quis non intelligit, omnes tibi respublicae partes aegras et labantes, ut eas his armis sanares et confirmares, esse commissas? Quòd si Miloni locus datus esset, probâset profectò tibi ipsi, neminem unquam hominem homini cariorum fuisse, quàm te sibi: nullum se unquam periculum pro tuâ dignitate fugisse: cum illâ ipsâ teterrimâ peste saepissimè pro tuâ gloriâ contendisse: tribunatum suum ad salutem meam, quae tibi carissima fuisset, consiliis tuis gubernatum: se a te postea defensum in periculo capitis, adjutum in petitione praeturae: duos se habere semper amicissimos sperâsse, te tuo beneficio, me suo: quae si non probaret; si tibi ita penitùs inesset ista suspicio, nullo ut evelli modo posset; si denique Italia a delectu, urbs ab armis, sine Milonis clade, nunquam esset conquietura; nae iste haud dubitans cessisset patriâ, is, qui ita natus est, et ita consuevit; te, Magne, tamen antestaretur, quod nunc etiam facit.

XXVI. Vide, quàm sit varia vitae commutabilisque ratio, quàm vaga volubilisque fortuna, quantae

4. *Capitolinae cohortes*—Cohorts were placed in the Capitol for the safety and defence of the city, when there was a prospect of sedi-

infidelitates in amicis, quàm ad tempus aptae simulationes, quantae in periculis fugae proximorum, quantae timiditates ! erit, erit illud profectò tempus, et illucescet aliquando ille dies, cum tu, salutaribus, ut spero, rebus tuis, sed fortasse motu aliquo communium temporum immutatis, (qui quàm crebrò accidat, experti debemus scire) et amicissimi benevolentiam, et gravissimi hominis fidem, et unius post homines natos fortissimi viri magnitudinem animi desideres. Quanquam quis hoc credat, Cn. Pompeium, juris publici, moris majorum, rei denique publicae peritissimum, cum Senatus ei commiserit, ut videret, **NE QUID RESPUBLICA DETRIMENTI CAPERET**, quo uno versiculo satis armati semper consules fuerunt, etiam nullis armis datis, hunc exercitu, hunc delectu dato iudicium expectaturum fuisse in ejus consiliis vindicandis, qui vel iudicia ipsa tolleret ? satis iudicatum est a Pompeio, falsò ista conferri in Milonem qui ⁵legem tulit, quâ, ut ego sentio, Milonem absolvi a vobis oporteret ; ut omnes confitentur, liceret. Quòd verò in illo loco atque illis publicorum praesidiorum copiis circumfusus sedet ; satis declarat, se non terrorem inferre vobis, (quid enim illo minùs dignum, quàm cogere, ut vos eum condemnatis, in quem animadvertere ipse, et more majorum, et suo jure posset ?) sed praesidio esse : ut intelligatis, contra ⁶hesternam concionem illam licere vobis, quod sentiatis, liberè judicare.

5. *Legem tulit*—Pompey enacted a law, that an enquiry concerning the death of Clodius should be made.

6. *Hesternam concionem*—It has already been mentioned, that the day before this oration was delivered, Munatius Plancus, Tribune

XXVII. Nec verò me, Judices, Clodīanum crimen movet; nec tam sum demens, tamque vestri sensûs ignarus atque expers, ut nesciam, quid de morte Clodii sentiatis; de quâ si jam nollem ita diluere crimen, ut delui, tamen impunè Miloni palàm clamare atque mentiri gloriosè liceret: Occidi, occidi non ^{Sp.} Melium, qui annonâ levandâ jacturisque rei familiaris, quia nimis amplecti plebem putabatur, in suspicionem incidit regni appetendi: non Tiberium Gracchum, qui collegae magistratum per seditionem abrogavit: quorum interfectores impleverunt orbem terrarum nominis sui gloriâ: sed eum, (auderet enim dicere, cum patriam periculo suo liberâset) cujus nefandum adulterium in ^{pulvinaribus} sanctissimis nobilissimae foeminae comprehenderunt: eum, cujus supplicio Senatus solennes religiones expiandas saepè censuit: eum, quem cum sorore germanâ nefarium stuprum fecisse L. ^{Lucullus} juratus se, quaestioni- bus habitis, dixit comperisse: eum, qui civem, quem Senatus, quem populus, quem omnes gentes urbis ac

of the people, held a tumultuous assembly of the people, in which he advised them to appear at the trial, and not permit Milo to be acquitted; to prevent which invasion of the judges' rights, Pompey placed a body of guards near the tribunal.

7. *Spurium Melium.....T. Gracchum*—It has already been related, that Spurius Melius was slain by Servilius Ahala for having endeavoured to obtain the sovereignty by buying all the corn, that was to be purchased, and distributing it among the people, when provisions were very dear; and that Scipio Nasica slew Tiberius Gracchus, because he deposed his colleague for opposing him, when he moved, that an Agrarian law should be passed.

8. *Pulvinaribus*—In the most retired and sacred places of the temples there were little beds for the images of the gods to rest upon.

9. *Lucullus* being summoned as an evidence with regard to the life of Clodius, said, that he had extorted a confession from his maid-servants, that Clodius had committed incest with one of his sisters, to another of whom Lucullus himself was married.

vitae civium conservatorem judicabant, servorum armis exterminavit : eum, qui regna dedit, ¹ademit ; orbem terrarum, quibuscum voluit, partitus est : eum, qui, plurimis caedibus in foro factis, singulari virtute et gloriâ civem domum vi et armis compulit : eum, cui nihil unquam nefas fuit nec in facinore, nec in libidine : eum, qui ²aedem nympharum incendit, ³ut memoriam publicam recensionis tabulis publicis impressam extingueret : eum denique, cui jam nulla lex erat, nullum civile jus, nulli possessionum termini ; qui non calumniâ litium, non injustis vindiciis ac sacramentis alienos fundos, sed castris, exercitu, signis inferendis petebat : qui non solùm Etruscos, (eos enim penitùs contempserat) sed hunc ⁴Cn. Pompeium, virum fortissimum atque optimum civem, judicem nostrum, pellere possessionibus armis cas-

1. *Ademit*—Clodius enacted a law against Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, to deprive him of his kingdom, and reduce it to a Roman province, and confiscate his whole estate. This prince was brother to the king of Egypt, and reigned by the same right of hereditary succession ; was in peace and amity with Rome, accused of no practices, nor suspected of any designs against the republick. But Clodius was inimical to him, because he refused to ransom him, when he was taken prisoner by the pirates, and sent him only the small sum of two talents. To sanction this iniquitous law, and give it the better face and colour of justice, Cato was charged with the execution of it, which gave Clodius a double pleasure, by imposing such a task on the gravest man in Rome.

2. *Aedem nympharum*—A temple was erected in Rome to the nymphs presiding over fountains, that they might be propitious in preventing fires ; which temple was burnt by Clodius.

3. *Ut memoriam extingueret*—Every five years the Censors used to take an account of the several tribes, and to make up a register, in which the crimes of all the citizens were marked ; and as Clodius knew, that his enormous crimes were recorded in the publick acts, he burned the temple, in which they were kept, that the remembrance of his wicked deeds might be lost.

4. *Cn. Pompeium*—This was not Pompey the Great, for he was not one of the judges of this trial. In several editions the name of Q. Varius is placed instead of Cn. Pompeius.

trisque conatus est : qui cum architectis et decempe-
dis villas multorum hortosque peragrabat : qui
*Janiculo et Alpibus spem possessionum terminabat
suarum : qui, cum ab equite Romano, splendido et
forti viro, T. Pacavio, non impetrâsset, ut insulam
in *lacu Pretio venderet, repentè lintribus in eam in-
sulam, materiam, calcem, caementa, atque arma con-
vexit ; dominoque trans ripam inspectante, non dubi-
tavit aedificium extruere in alieno : qui huic *T. Fur-
fanio, cui viro ? dii immortales ! (quid enim ego de
mulierculâ Scantiâ ? quid de adolescente Apronio
dicam ? quorum utrique mortem est minitatus, nisi
sibi hortorum possessione cessisset) sed ausus est
Furfanio dicere, si sibi pecuniam, quantam poposcerat,
non dedisset, *mortuum se in domum ejus illaturum ;
quâ invidiâ huic esset tali viro conflagrandum : qui
*Appium fratrem, hominem mihi conjunctum fidissimâ
gratiâ, absentem, de possessione fundi dejecit : qui
parietem sic per *vestibulum sororis instituit ducere,
sic agere fundamenta, ut sororem non modò vestibulo
privaret, sed omni aditu et limine.

5. *Janiculo.....Alpibus*—Janiculum was formerly a town of Etru-
ria on the banks of the Tiber.—The Alps are a ridge of high moun-
tains, separating Italy from France.

6. *Lacu Pretio*—This lake is between Rome and Viterbium.

7. *T. Furfanio*—This was a friend of Cicero.

8. *Mortuum, etc.*—Clodius threatened to convey a dead body into
Furfanius' house, with a view of ^{an}ging him under the suspicion
of having committed murder ; or perhaps his design was to make
him thereby lose the right and property of his house ; because, by
a dead body's being brought into any house, it became sacred, and
the proprietor was obliged to abandon all his title to it.

9. *Appium fratrem*—Appius, brother of Publius Clodius, was a
friend of Cicero, as may be conjectured from Cicero's having writ-
ten several letters to him.

1. *Vestibulum*—A plot of ground before the door of any house,
through which an avenue led to the house itself.

XXVIII. Quanquam haec quidem jam tolerabilia videbantur, etsi aequabiliter in remp. in privatos; in longinquos, in propinquos; in alienos, in suos iruebat: sed nescio quomodo jam usu obduruerat et percalluerat civitatis incredibilis patientia. Quae verò aderant jam et impendebant, quonam modo ea aut depellere potuissetis, aut ferre? Imperium si ille nactus esset, omitto socios, exteras nationes, reges, tetrarchas: vota enim faceretis, ut in eos se potius mitteret, quàm in vestras possessiones, vestra tecta, vestras pecunias: pecunias dico? a liberis, a liberis, mediusfidiis, et a conjugibus vestris nunquam ille effrenatas suas libidines cohibuisset. Fingi haec putatis, quae patent, quae nota sunt omnibus, quae tenentur? servorum exercitus illum in urbe conscripturum fuisse, per quos totam rempub. resque privatas omnium possideret? Quamobrem, si cruentum gladium tenens clamaret T. Annius, ADESTE, quaeso, atque audite, cives; P. Clodium interfeci; ejus furores, quos nullis jam legibus, nullis judiciis frenare poteramus, hoc ferro et hâc dexterâ a cervicibus vestris repuli; per me unum effectum est, ut jus, aequitas, leges, libertas, pudor, pudicitia in civitate manerent: esset verò timendum, quonam modo id [factum] ferret civitas: nunc enim quis est, qui non probet? qui non laudet? qui non unum post hominum memoriam T. Annium plurimùm reipublicae profuisse; maximâ laetitiâ populum Romanum, cunctam Italiam, nationes omnes affecisse, et dicat, et sentiat? Nequeo

2. *Tetrarchas*—One, who reigned over the fourth part of a kingdom.

vetera illa populi Romani quanta fuerint gaudia judicare ; multas tamen jam ³summorum imperatorum clarissimas victorias aetas nostra vidit ; quarum nulla neque tam diuturnam attulit laetitiam, nec tantam. Mandate hoc memoriae, Judices ; spero multa vos liberosque vestros in republicâ bona esse visuros ; in his singulis ita semper existimabitis, vivo P. Clodio, nihil horum vos visuros fuisse ; in spem maximam, et, quemadmodum confido, verissimam adducti sumus, hunc ipsum annum, hoc ipso summo viro ⁴consule, compressâ hominum licentiâ, cupiditatibus fractis, legibus et judiciis constitutis, salutarem civitati fore. Num quis igitur est tam demens, qui hoc, P. Clodio vivo, contingere potuisse arbitretur ? Quid ? ea, quae tenetis, privata atque vestra, dominante homine furioso, quod jus perpetuae possessionis habere potuissent ?

XXIX. Non timeo, Judices, ne odio inimicitiarum mearum inflammatus, libentiùs haec in illum evomere videar, quàm veriùs ; etenim etsi praecipuum esse debebat, tamen ita communis erat omnium ille hostis, ut in communi odio penè aequalitèr versaretur odium meum. Non potest dici satis, nec cogitari quidem, quantum in illo sceleris, quantum exitii fuerit. Quin sic attendite, Judices ; nempè haec est quaestio de interitu P. Clodii ; fingite animis (liberae enim sunt cogitationes nostrae, et, quae volunt, sic intuentur, ut ea cernimus, quae videmus) fingite igitur cogitatione imaginem hujus conditionis meae, si possim efficere, ut Milonem absolvatis, sed ita, si P. Clodius

3. *Summorum imperatorum*—Sylla and Marius lived in that age.

4. *Consule*—Pompey.

revixerit. Quid vultu extimuiſtis? quonam modo ille vos vivus afficeret, qui mortuus inani cogitatione percussit? Quid? si ipse Cn. Pompeius, qui eâ virtute ac fortunâ est, ut ea potuerit semper, quae nemo praeter illum; si is, inquam, potuisset, aut quaestionem de morte P. Clodii ferre, aut ipsum ab inferis excitare, utrum putatis facturum fuisse? etiam si propter amicitiam vellet illum ab inferis revocare, propter rempub. non fecisset. Ejus igitur mortis aedētis ultores, cujus vitam, si putetis per vos restitui posse, nolitis; et de ejus nece lata quaestio est, qui si eâdem lege reviviscere posset, lata lex nunquam esset. Hujus ergo interfector qui esset, in confitendo ab hisne poenam timeret, quos liberavisset? Graeci homines deorum honores tribuunt iis viris, qui tyrannos necaverunt. Quae ego vidi Athenis? quae aliis in urbibus Graeciae? quas res divinas talibus institutas viris? quos cantus? quae carmina? propè ad immortalitatis et religionem et memoriam consecrantur. Vos tanti conservatorem populi, tanti sceleris ultorem, non modò honoribus nullis afficietis sed ad supplicium rapi etiam patiemini? Confiteretur, confiteretur, inquam, si fecisset, et magno animo et libentè se fecisse libertatis omnium causâ: quod ei certè non confitendum modò fuisset, verum etiam praedicandum.

XXX. Etenim, si id non negat, ex quo nihil petit, nisi ut ignoscatur; dubitaret id fateri, ex quo etiam praemia laudis essent petenda? nisi verò gratius putat esse vobis, sui se capitis, quàm vestri ordinis de-

5. *Res divinas*—Statues, monuments, columns, etc. erected in honour of the gods.

fensorem fuisse ; cum praesertim in eâ confessione,
 si grati esse velletis honores assequeretur amplissi-
 mos : sin factum vobis non probaretur, (quanquam
 quî poterat salus sua cuique non probari ?) sed tamen
 si minùs fortissimi viri virtus civibus grata cecidisset ;
 magno animo constantique cederet ex ingrâtâ civitate ;
 nam quid esset ingratius, quàm laetari caeteros, lugere
 eum solum, propter quem caeteri laetarentur ? Quan-
 quam hoc animo semper omnes fuimus in patriae
 proditoribus opprimendis, ut, quoniam nostra futura
 esset gloria, periculum quoque et invidiam nostram
 putaremus ; nam quae mihi contribuenda laus esset
 ipsi, cum tantum in consulatu meo pro vobis ac liber-
 is vestris ⁶ausus essem, si id, quod conabar, sine
 maximis dimicationibus meis me esse ausurum arbi-
 trarer ? quae mulier sceleratum ac perniciosum civem
 occidere non audeat, si periculum non timeret ?
 Propositâ invidiâ, morte, poenâ, qui nihilo segniùs
 rempub. defendit, is vir verè putandus est. Populi
 grati est, praemiis afficere benè meritos de republicâ
 cives ; viri fortis, ne suppliciis quidem moveri, ut for-
 titè fecisse poeniteat. Quamobrem uteretur eâdem
 confessione T. Annius, quâ Ahala, quâ Nasica, quâ
 Opimius, quâ Marius, quâ ⁷nosmetipsi ; et, si grata
 respublica esset, laeteretur ; si ingrata, tamen in gravi
 fortunâ conscientiâ suâ niteretur. Sed hujus beneficii
 gratiam, Judices, ⁸fortuna populi Romani, et vestra

6. *Ausus essem*—Alluding to Catiline's conspiracy.

7. *Nosmetipsi*—Referring to his having put to death Lentulus, Cethegus, and other members of Catiline's conspiracy.

8. *Fortuna populi Romani*—Plutarch observes, that the beginning and increase of the Roman empire were owing to Fortune ; and that, on that account, the Romans erected many temples to her.

felicitas, et dii immortales sibi deberi putant. Nec verò quisquam aliter arbitrari potest, nisi qui nullam vim esse ducit, numen-ve divinum : quem neque imperii vestri magnitudo, neque sol ille, nec coeli signorumque motus, nec vicissitudines rerum atque ordines movent, neque, id quod maximum est, majorum nostrorum sapientia ; qui sacra, qui caeremonias, qui auspicia et ipsi sanctissimè coluerunt, et nobis, suis posteris, prodiderunt.

XXXI. Est, est profectò illa vis : neque in his corporibus atque in hâc imbecillitate nostrâ inest quiddam, quod vigeat et sentiat, et non inest in hoc tanto naturae tam praeclaro motu ; nisi fortè idcirco esse non putant, quia non apparet, nec cernitur ; proinde quasi nostram ipsam mentem, quâ sapimus, quâ providemus, quâ haec ipsa agimus ac dicimus, videre, aut planè, qualis aut ubi sit, sentire possimus. Ea vis, ea est igitur ipsa, quae saepè incredibiles huic urbi felicitates atque opes attulit ; quae illam perniciem extinxit ac sustulit, cui primùm mentem injecit, ut vi irritare ferroque lacessere fortissimum virum auderet, vincereturque ab eo, quem si vicisset, habiturus esset impunitatem et licentiam sempiternam. Non est humano consilio, ne mediocri quidem, Iudices, deorum immortalium curâ res illa perfecta : religiones, mehercule, ipsae, quae illam belluam cadere viderunt, commovisse se videntur, et jus in illo suum retinuisse : vos enim jam, ⁹Albani tumuli atque luci,

9. *Albani tumuli*—These were little hills or rising spots, on which altars were erected to certain deities ; or they were the sepulchres and monuments of the inhabitants of Alba, who had been buried there, before the building of the city.

vos, inquam, imploro atque obtestor, vosque, Albanorum obrutae arae, ¹sacrorum populi Romani sociae et aequales, quas ille praiceps amentia, caesis prostratisque sanctissimis lucis, substructionum insanis molibus oppresserat : vestrae tum arae, vestrae religiones viguerunt, vestra vis valuit, quam ille omni scelere polluerat : tuque ex tuo edito monte, Latiaris sancte Jupiter, cujus ille lacus, nemora, finesque saepè omni nefario stupro et scelere maculârat, aliquando ad eum puniendum oculos aperuisti : vobis illae, vobis vestro in conspectu serae, sed justae tamen et debitae poenae solutae sunt. Nisi fortè hoc etiam casu factum esse dicemus, ut ante ipsum sacrarium Bonae Deae, quod est in fundo T. Sextii Galli, in primis honesti et ornati adolescentis, ante ipsam, inquam, Bonam Deam, cum praelium commisisset, primum illud vulnus acceperit, quo teterrimam mortem obiret ; ut non ²absolutus iudicio illo nefario videretur, sed ad hanc insignem poenam reservatus.

XXXII. Nec verò non eadem ira deorum hanc ejus satellitibus iniecit amentiam, ut sine ³imaginibus

1. *Sacrorum, etc.*—Cicero refers to the rites, which were common to all the people of Latium with the Romans. They were at first instituted by Tarquinius Superbus, who, in order to keep the Latin association firm to their engagements with him, erected a new temple in the midst of them to Jupiter Latialis, on a hill near the ruins of Alba, where the diets of the united cantons were annually to assemble on the twenty-seventh day of April, which were called *feriae Latinae*, and jointly offer sacrifices to Jupiter, and feast together in token of union.

2. *Absolutus*—It has already been mentioned, that by bribery Clodius obtained an acquittance when he was tried by select judges for the violation of the mysteries of *Bona Dea*.

3. *Imaginibus.....cantu*—At the funerals of the Romans, images were carried in the procession, and hymns were sung.

sine cantu, sine ⁴ludis, sine exequiis, sine lamentis, sine ⁵laudationibus, sine funere, oblitus cruore et luto, spoliatus illius supremi diei celebritate, quam concedere etiam inimici solent, ambureretur abjectus ; non fuisse credo fas clarissimorum virorum formas illi teterrimo parricidae aliquid decoris afferre, neque ullo in loco potius mortem ejus lacerari, quàm in quo vita esset damnata. Dura mihi, mediوسفidiùs, jam fortuna populi Romani et crudelis videbatur, quae tot annos illum in hanc rempub. insultare videret et pateretur : polluerat stupro sanctissimas religiones : Senatùs gravissima decreta perfregerat : pecunià se palàm a iudicibus redemerat : ⁶vexârat in tribunatu Senatum : omnium ordinum consensu pro salute reipublicae ⁷gesta resciderat : me patriâ expulerat ; bona diripuerat ; domum incenderat ; liberos, conjugem meam vexaverat : ⁸Cn Pompeio ne-

4. *Ludis*—The Romans imagined, that the ghosts of the deceased were satisfied and rendered propitious, by human blood. At first they used to buy captives, or untoward slaves, and offered them at the obsequies. Afterwards they attempted to veil their barbarity with a shew of pleasure and voluntary combat. They therefore educated such persons, as they had procured, in a knowledge of arms, and obliged them, upon the day appointed for the sacrifices to the departed ghosts, to maintain a mortal encounter at the tombs of their friends. Hence arose the gladiatorial shews, which were exhibited at the tombs of great men to appease their manes.

5. *Laudationibus*—Upon the death of an eminent citizen a funeral oration was usually delivered.

6. *Vexârat in tribunatu*—When Clodius was Tribune, that he might more effectually injure Cicero, he decreed the provinces to Gabinius and Piso, contrary to the authority of the Senate.

7. *Gesta resciderat*—Though the putting of Catiline's accomplices to death was not done by Cicero's authority, but by a general vote of the Senate, and after a serious debate, yet Clodius pretended it was illegal ; and accordingly passed a law importing, *that whoever had taken the life of a citizen uncondemned and without trial, should be prohibited from fire and water.*

8. *Cn. Pompeio bellum indixerat*—Alluding to Clodius' having placed an assassin in the temple of Castor to murder Pompey.

farium bellum indixerat : magistratuum privatorum-
que caedes effecerat : domum mei fratris incende-
rat : vastârat Etruriam : multos sedibus ac fortunis
ejecerat : instabat, urgebat : capere ejus amentiam
civitas, Italia, provinciae, regna non poterant : ¹in-
cidebantur jam domi leges, quae nos nostris servis
addicerent : nihil erat cujusquam, quod quidem ille
adamâsset, quod non hoc anno suum fore putaret.
Obstabat ejus cogitationibus nemo, praeter Milonem.
Illum ipsum, qui poterat obstare, Cn. Pompeium,
novo reditu in gratiam, quasi devinctum arbitrabatur :
Caesaris potentiam suam potentiam esse dicebat :
bonorum animos etiam in meo casu contempserat :
Milo unus urgebat.

XXXIII. Hic dii immortales, ut suprâ dixi, men-
tem dederunt illi perditō ac furioso, ut ¹huic faceret
insidias : aliter perire pestis illa non potuit : nun-
quam illum resp. suo jure esset ulta. Senatus, credo,
praetōrem eum circumscripsisset : ne, cum solebat
quidem id facere, in privato eodem hoc aliquid pro-
fecerat. An consules in praetore coercendo fortes
fuissent ? primū, Milone occiso, ²habuisset suos
consules : deinde quis in eo praetore consul fortis
esset, per ³quem tribunum, virum consularem cru-
delissimē vexatum esse meminisset : omnia possi-

9. *Incidebantur*—Clodius wished to pass a law, granting the power of voting to all the freedmen in the city. This law, with some others, Clodius had engraved on a plate of brass, as was usual at that time.

1. *Huic*—Milo.

2. *Habuisset suos consules*—Clodius wished, that Hypsaeus and Scipio might be elected Consuls.

3. *Quem tribunum.....Consularem virum*—When Clodius was Tribune, he much oppressed Cicero, a man of consular rank.

deret, teneret : lege novâ, quae est inventa apud eum cum reliquis legibus Clodianis, servos nostros libertos suos fecisset : postremò, nisi eum dii immortales in eam mentem impulissent, ut homo effeminatus fortissimum virum conaretur occidere, hodie remp. nullam haberetis. An ille praetor, ille verò consul, si modò ⁴haec templa atque ipsa moenia stare, eo vivo, tamdiu, et consulatum ejus expectare potuissent, ille denique vivus mali nihil fecisset, qui mortuus, uno ex suis satellitibus Sex. Clodio duce, curiam incenderit ? quo quid miserius, quid acerbius, quid luctuosius vidimus ? templum sanctitatis, amplitudinis, mentis, consilii publici, caput urbis, aram sociorum, ⁵portum omnium gentium, sedem, ab universo populo Romano concessam uni ordini, inflammari, excindi, funestari ? neque id fieri a multitudine imperitâ, (quanquam esset miserum id ipsum) sed ab uno ; qui cum tantum ausus sit ultor pro mortuo, quid signifer pro vivo non esset ausus ? In curiam potissimum abjecit, ut eam mortuus incenderet, quam vivus everterat. Et sunt, qui de ⁶viâ Appiâ querantur, taceant de curiâ ? et qui ab eo spirante forum putent potuisse defendi, cujus non restiterit cadaveri curia ? Excitate, excitate ipsum, si potestis, ab inferis : frangetis impetum vivi, cujus vix sustinetis furias insepulti ? nisi verò sustinuistis eos, qui cum facibus ad curiam cucurrerunt, cum ⁷falci-

4. *Haec templa*—The senate-house and Forum.

5. *Portum*—Foreign kings and nations fled to the Romans for safety and protection, and appealed to them, as the arbitrators of all their differences.

6. *Appiâ viâ*—In the Appian way Clodius was slain.

7. *Falcibus*—The *falces* of the Romans were military instruments,

bus ad Castoris, cum gladiis toto foro volitârunt. Caedi vidistis populum Romanum, concionem gladiis disturbari, *cum audiretur silentio M. Coelius, tribunus plebis, vir et in repub. fortissimus, et *in susceptâ causâ firmissimus, et bonorum voluntati et auctoritati Senatûs deditus, et in hâc Milonis sive invidiâ sive fortunâ singulari, divinâ et incredibili fide.

XXXIV. Sed jam satîs multa de causâ ; extra causam etiam nimîs fortasse multa. Quid restat, nisi ut orem obtesterque vos, Judices, ut eam misericordiam tribuatis fortissimo viro, quam ipse non implorat ; ego autem, repugnante hoc, et imploro et exposco ? Nolite, si in nostro omnium fletu nullam lacrymam adspexistis Milonis, si vultum semper eundem, si vocem si orationem stabilem ac non mutata[m] videtis, hoc ei minûs parcere : atque haud scio, an multò etiam sit adjuvandus magis. Etenim, si, in gladiatoriiis pugnis et in infimi generis hominum conditione atque fortunâ, timidos et supplices, et, ut vivere liceat, obsecrantes etiam odisse solemus ; fortes et animosos et se acritèr ipsos morti offerentes servare cupimus ; eorumque nos magis miseret, qui

crooked like a reaper's hook, and used on two occasions ; in pulling the stones out of the walls of a besieged city, and in cutting the tackle of the enemy's ships.

8. *Cum audiretur M. Coelius*—As Milo returned to Rome the same night, on which the senate-house was set on fire, Coelius, a Tribune of the people, having called an assembly of those who favoured Milo, related in an oration all the crimes, of which Clodius had been guilty ; upon which the other Tribunes rushed into the Forum with a body of armed men, and would have killed both Coelius and Milo, had they not dressed themselves like slaves, and by that means made their escape.

9. *In susceptâ causâ firmissimus*—This Coelius vigorously opposed a law, which Pompey made, and which had no other view, than to injure Milo, and force a verdict from the judges, before they had maturely considered the merits of the case.

nostram misericordiam non requirunt, quàm qui illam efflagitant: quantò hoc magis in fortissimis civibus facere debemus? Me quidem, Judices, exanimant et interimunt hae voces Milonis, quas audio assiduè, et quibus intersum quotidie. Valeant, inquit, valeant cives mei; sint incolumes, sint florentes, sint beati; stet haec urbs praeclara, mihi quae patria carissima, quoque modo merita de me erit; tranquillâ repub. cives mei, quoniam mihi cum illis non licet, sine me ipsi, sed per me tamen, perfruantur; ego cedam atque abibo; si mihi republicâ bonâ frui non licuerit, at carebo malâ; et, quamprimùm tetigero benè moratam et liberam civitatem, in eâ conquiescam. O frustrâ, inquit, suscepti mei labores! ô spes fallaces! ô cogitationes inanes meae! ¹Ego, cum tribunus plebis, repub. oppressâ, me Senatui dedissem, quem extinctum acceperam; equitibus Romanis, quorum vires erant debiles; bonis viris, qui omnem auctoritatem Clodianis armis abjecerant: mihi unquam bonorum praesidium defuturum putarem? Ego, cum te (mecum enim saepissimè loquitur) patriae reddidissem, mihi non futurum in patriâ putarem locum? Ubi nunc Senatus est, quem secuti sumus? ubi equites Romani illi, illi, inquit, ²tui? ubi studia municipiorum? ubi Italiae voces? ubi denique tua, M. Tulli, quae plurimis fuit auxilio, vox et defensio? mihi-ne ea soli, qui pro te toties morti me obtuli, nihil potest opitulari?

1. *Ego, cum tribunus plebis, etc.*—Cicero refers to the time, when he was recalled from banishment. Sextius exerted himself in his favour, as did also the Senate, against the Tribunes of the people, who were for the most part opposed to his return.

2. *Tui*—Cicero at first was of the equestrian order, afterwards of the senatorian.

XXXV. Nec verò haec, Judices, ut ego nunc, flens, sed hoc eodem loquitur vultu, quo videtis : negat enim se, negat ingratis civibus fecisse, quae fecerit ; timidis et omnia circumspicientibus pericula, non negat : plebem et infimam multitudinem, quae, P. Clodio duce, fortunis vestris imminebat, eam, quò tutior esset vita vestra, suam se fecisse commemorat ; ut non modò virtute flecteret, sed etiam tribus suis patrimoniis deliniret : nec timet, ne, cum plebem muneribus placarit, vos non conciliaret meritis in rempublicam singularibus. Senatùs erga se benevolentiam temporibus his ipsis saepè esse perspectam ; vestras verò, et vestrorum ordinum occurrences, studia, sermones, quemcunque cursum fortuna dederit, secum se ablaturum esse dicit. Meminit etiam sibi ⁴vocem praeconis modò defuisse, quam minimè desiderarit ; populi verò cunctis suffragiis, quod unum cupierit, se consulem declaratum ; nunc denique, si haec arma contra se sint futura, sibi facinoris suspicionem, non facti crimen obstare. Addit haec, quae certè vera sunt, **FORTES ET SAPIENTES VIROS** non tam praemia sequi solere rectè factorum, quàm ipsa rectè facta : se nihil in vitâ, nisi praeclarissimè, fecisse : siquidem nihil sit praestabilius viro, quàm periculis patriam liberare :

3. *Tribus suis patrimoniis*—Milo had three estates ; one left him by his father, one by his mother, the third by Caius Annius, his grandfather, by whom he was adopted. All three he spent in gifts to the people, and publick sports, for which he was charged with bribery, and condemned when absent. Cicero says, these largesses were bestowed upon the people with no other design, but that the rich might not be robbed.

4. *Vocem praeconis*—Although the greater part of the voters knew who would be Consul, yet a publick crier was appointed to name him with an audible voice, and extol his character.

beatos esse, quibus ea res honori fuerit a suis civibus nec tamen eos miseros, qui beneficio cives suos vicerint : sed tamen ex omnibus praemiis virtutis, si esset habenda ratio praemiorum, amplissimum esse praemium gloriam : esse hanc unam, quae brevitatem vitae posteritatis memoriâ consolaretur, quae efficeret, ut absentes adessemus, mortui viveremus : hanc denique esse, cujus gradibus etiam homines in coelum videantur ascendere. De me, inquit, semper populus Romanus, semper omnes gentes loquentur, nulla unquam obmutescet vetustas : quin hoc tempore ipso, cum omnes a meis inimicis faces invidiae meae subjiciantur, tamen omni in hominum coetu, gratiis agendis, et gratulationibus habendis, et omni sermone celebramur. Omitto *Etruriae festes* et actos et institutos dies : centesima lux est haec ab interitu P. Clodii, et, opinor, altera : quâ fines imperii populi Romani sunt, eâ non solum fama jam de illo, sed etiam laetitia peragravit. Quamobrem ubi corpus hoc sit, non, inquit, laboro, quoniam omnibus in terris et jam versatur et semper habitabit nominis mei gloria.

XXXVI Haec tu mecum saepè, his absentibus ; sed iisdem audientibus, haec ego tecum, Milo. Te quidem, quòd isto animo es, satîs laudare non possum, sed quo est illa magis divina virtus, eo majore a te dolore divellor. Nec verò, si mihi eriperis, reliqua est illa tamen ad consolandum querela, ut his irasci possim, a quibus tantum vulnus accepero ; non

5. *Etruriae festos* — The inhabitants of Etruria were so inimical to Clodius, on account of some injuries he had done them, that when they heard of his death, they appointed festivals in honour of Milo.

enim inimici mei te mihi eripient, sed amicissimi ; non malè aliquando de me meriti, sed semper optimè. Nullum unquam, Judices, mihi tantum dolorem inuretis, (etsi, quis potest esse tantus ?) sed ne hunc quidem ipsum, ut obliviscar, quanti me semper feceritis ; quæ si vos cepit oblivio, aut si in me aliquid offendistis, cur non id meo capite potiùs luitur, quàm Milonis ! Praeclarè enim vixero, si quid mihi acciderit priùs, quàm hoc tantum mali videro. Nunc me una consolatio sustentat, quòd tibi, ô T. Anni, nullum a me amoris, nullum studii, nullum pietatis officium defuit. Ego inimicitias potentium pro te appetivi : ego meum saepè corpus et vitam objeci armis inimicorum tuorum : ego me plurimis pro te supplicem abjeci : bona, fortunas meas ac liberorum meorum in communionem tuorum temporum contuli : hoc denique ipso die, si qua vis est parata, si qua dimicatio capitis futura, depono. Quid jam restat ? quid habeo quod dicam, quod faciam pro tuis in me meritis, nisi ut eam fortunam, quaecunque erit tua, ducam meam ? Non recuso, non abnuo ; vosque obsecro, Judices, ut vestra beneficia, quæ in me contulistis, aut in hujus salute augeatis, aut in ejusdem exitio occasura esse videatis.

XXXVII. His lacrymis non movetur Milo : est quodam incredibili robore animi : exilium ibi esse putat, ubi virtuti non sit locus ; mortem naturæ finem

6. *Inimicitias potentium*—So great was Cicero's friendship for Milo, that neither the threats of the Clodian faction, nor Pompey's inimical disposition toward Milo could deter him from making this defence.

7. *Armis*—In assisting Milo to obtain the Consulship, Cicero often exposed himself to the attacks of Clodius.

esse, non poenam. Sit hic eâ mente, quâ natus est : quid ? vos, Judices, quo tandem animo eritis ? memoriam Milonis retinebitis, ipsum ejicietis ? et erit dignior locus in terris ullus, qui hanc virtutem excipiat, quàm hic, qui procreavit ? Vos, vos appello, fortissimi viri, qui multum pro republicâ sanguinem effudistis ! vos inviri et in civis invicti appello periculo, centuriones, vosque, milites : vobis non modò inspectantibus, sed etiam armatis, et huic judicio praesidentibus, haec tanta virtus ex hâc urbe expellatur ? exterminabitur ? projicietur ? ô me miserum ! ô me infelicem ! revocare tu me in patriam, Milo, potuisti per hos ? ego te in patriâ per eosdem retinere non potero ? Quid respondebo liberis meis, qui te parentem alterum putant ? quid tibi, Q. frater, qui nunc abes, consorti mecum temporum illorum ? me non potuisse Milonis salutem tueri per eosdem, per quos nostram ille servâsset ? at in quâ causâ non potuisse ? quae est grata gentibus : a quibus non potuisse ? ab iis, qui maximè P. Clodii morte acquierunt : quo deprecante ? me. Quodnam ego concepi tantum scelus ? aut quod in me tantum facinus admisi, Judices, cum illa indicia communis exitii indagavi, patefeci, protuli, extinxi ? omnes in me meosque redundant ex fonte illo dolores. Quid me reducem esse voluistis ? an ut, inspectante me, expellerentur ii, per quos, essem restitutus ? Nolite, obsecro vos, pati mihi acerbiorum redditum esse, quàm fuerit ille ipse discessus.

8. *Illa indicia, etc.*—The conspiracy of Catiline.

9. *Ex fonte illo dolores*—Clodius became the enemy of Milo, because Milo made great exertions to have Cicero recalled from banishment.

Nam quî possum putare me restitutum esse, si distrahor ab iis, per quos restitutus sum ?

XXXVIII. Utinam dii immortales fecissent, (pace tuâ, patria, dixerim ; metuo enim, ne sceleratè dicam in te, quod pro Milone dicam piè) ut P. Clodius non modò viveret, sed etiam praetor, consul, dictator esset potius, quàm hoc spectaculum viderem. O dii immortales ! fortem, et a vobis, Judices, conservandum virum ! Minimè, minimè, ¹inquit ; inamò verò poenas ille debitas luerit ; nos subeamus, si ita necesse est, non debitas. Hiccine vir patriae natus usquam, nisi in patriâ, morietur ? aut, si fortè, pro patriâ, hujus vos animi monumenta retinebitis, corporis in Italiâ nullum sepulcrum esse patiemini ? hunc suâ quisquam sententiâ ex hâc urbe expellet, quem omnes urbes expulsum a vobis ad se vocabunt ? O terram illam beatam, quae hunc virum exceperit ! hanc ingratam, si ejecerit ! miseram, si amiserit ! Sed finis sit : neque enim prae lacrymis jam loqui possum ; et hic se lacrymis defendi vetat : vos oro obtestorque, Judices, ut in sententiis ferendis, quod sentietis, id audeatis. Vestram virtutem, justitiam, fidem (mihi credite) is maximè probabit, qui in iudiciis legendis optimum et sapientissimum et fortissimum quemque legit.²

1. *Inquit*—Milo speaks.

2. Notwithstanding the defence of Cicero, Milo was condemned, and, a few days after his condemnation, went in exile to Marseilles.

ORATIO IN M. ANTONIUM.

INTRODUCTION.

AFTER the assassination of Julius Caesar by Brutus and Cassius, there were many parties and tumults in Rome. The conspirators, having no design beyond the death of the despot, were undecided respecting the measures they should take, and neglected to pursue those means, which were necessary to reestablish the liberties of the republick. Mark Antony, who, during the last year of Caesar's life, was his colleague in the Consulship, at first imagined himself in danger, and began to fortify his house; but observing the indecision and pacifick conduct of the authors of Caesar's death, he recovered his spirits, and resolved to usurp the government, as soon as he was able, and, upon pretence of avenging the murder of his colleague, to destroy all, who should oppose him. To execute this design, he pretended to have no other desire, than to see the republick settled upon its old basis. He assumed the appearance of goodness and moderation; talked of nothing, but conciliating measures; and, for a proof of his sincerity, moved, that the conspirators should be invited to take part in the publick deliberations, and sent his son as an hostage for their safety. The invitation was accepted; Brutus supped with Lepidus, Cassius with Antony; the day was closed with joy and rejoicing, and the city thought, that liberty would be secured with peace. On pretence of publick concord, however, Antony proposed and carried several things, of which he afterwards made a very pernicious use; particularly a decree for a confirmation of all Caesar's acts. The people soon saw, for what end he had provided this decree, to which the Senate consented for the sake of peace. Antony, being master of Caesar's papers, and of his secretary Faberius, by whose hand they were written, forged and inserted at pleasure whatever he thought would be of use to him, and publickly sold for money whatever immunities were desired by countries, cities, princes, or private men, pretending that they had been granted by Caesar, and inserted in his books. These and several other instances of his duplicity and violence convinced the conspirators, that no good was to be expected from him, or a Senate, which was under his influence.

About this time Cicero, who had hitherto maintained some degree of neutrality or moderation between the parties, being alarmed by these violences, departed from Rome. He had, before the death of Caesar, intended to withdraw into Greece, under pretence of superintending the education of his son at Athens, and had obtained Caesar's consent and the leave of the Senate for that purpose. On Caesar's death, having hopes, that the republick was about to revive, he took his resolution to remain in the city; but being now satisfied, that these hopes were vain, he resumed his former design of absenting himself; and instead of applying to the Senate for leave, accepted from Dolabella, the newly appointed Governor of Syria, a commission of Lieutenantcy, which he was to employ as a pre-

tence for crossing the Ionian sea. Having passed through Rhegium, on the sixth of August, in continuing his voyage to Greece, some circumstances obliged him to put back, and when he reentered the city, he met some citizens, just arrived from Rome, who brought a report, that a full meeting of the Senate was expected on the first of September; that Brutus and Cassius had sent circular letters requesting the attendance of all their friends; that Antony was likely to drop his designs; that, as the cause of the republic had so favourable an aspect, his own departure was censured, and his presence earnestly desired. Though Cicero was not greatly encouraged by these reports, he determined to return to Rome; and having arrived on the last of August, he found that the expectations, which he had been made to entertain of Antony's intentions, were void of foundation, and that the outrages he was likely to commit were such, as to make it extremely unsafe for any distinguished friend of the republic to come into his power. For this reason, Cicero, on the first of September, sent an excuse to the Senate, pleading the ill state of his health, which obliged him to remain in his own house. Antony considered his absence from the Senate as an affront to himself, or as giving too much countenance to the suspicions, which were entertained of his violent intentions. Under this impression he burst into rage, and sent an officer to require the attendance of Cicero, threatening, if he persisted in his supposed contumacy, to pull down his house about his ears, the ordinary method of forcing those to submission, who shut themselves up, or took refuge in their dwellings from the sentence of the law. He was dissuaded, however, from any attempt to execute his threat; and being himself absent from the Senate on the following day, Cicero ventured to take his seat, and, in the absence of the Consul, delivered that oration, which is entitled the first Philippick. In this speech he accounted for his late retirement from the capital, and for his present return, in terms strongly reflecting on the conduct and administration of the present Consul. Antony, in his turn, greatly exasperated by the reports he received of Cicero's speech, prepared to reply at a subsequent meeting of the Senate; and delivered himself accordingly with great acrimony against his antagonist. These mutual attacks, thus made in the absence of the parties, produced from Cicero the following famous oration, which is entitled the second Philippick, "a model of eloquence," says a Roman historian, "in the style of ancient invective;" but which, though put in the form of an immediate reply to imputations supposed to be made in his presence, never was delivered, and is to be considered as a mere rhetorical pleading in a fictitious case. The offence, however, which was given by the publication of this invective, made a principal part in the quarrel, which the parties never ceased to pursue, till it ended with Cicero's life. These orations were called PHILIPPICKS in imitation of the famous orations delivered by Demosthenes, the celebrated Athenian orator, against Philip, king of Macedonia; the second was written in the 63rd year of Cicero's age, and the 709th from the building of the city.

QUONAM meo ¹fato, P. C. fieri dicam, ut nemo his ²annis viginti reipublicae hostis fuerit, qui non bellum eodem tempore mihi quoque indixērit? Nec verò necesse est a me quenquam nominari vobis, cum ipsi recordamini: mihi poenarum illi plūs, quàm optarem, dederunt. Te miror, Antōni, quorum facta imitere, eorum ³exitus non perhorrescere. Atque hoc in ⁴aliis minūs mirabar: nemo illorum inimicus mihi fuit voluntarius: omnes a me reipublicae causā lacessiti; tu, ne verbo quidem violatus, ut audacior quàm L. Catilina, furiosior quàm P. Clodius viderere, ultrò maledictis me lacessisti; tuamque a me alienationem commendationem tibi ad cives impios fore putavisti. Quid putem? contemptum-ne me? non video nec in vitā, nec in ⁵gratiā, nec in rebus gestis, nec in hac meā mediocritate ingenii, quid despicere

1. *Fato*—The ancients defined *fate* to be the connection and series of all causes, by means of which all things happen, that do happen.

2. *Annis viginti*—Twenty years elapsed between the Consulship of Cicero and the Consulship of Antony.

3. *Exitus non perhorrescere*—Catiline, who conspired against the republic and against Cicero, was slain in battle, bearing arms against his country. His accomplices in that conspiracy were, by a decree of the Senate, killed in prison. Clodius, who was an inveterate enemy to Cicero, and who by his intrigues drove him into exile, was slain by Milo.

4. *Aliis*—He here means Clodius, Catiline, Vatinius, Piso, and Gabinius, in opposing whose vices Cicero was more active in attacking than in defending.

5. *Gratia*—The Romans conferred distinguished marks of favour on Cicero. When he was banished by Clodius, almost the whole equestrian order changed their garments; twenty thousand of the youngmen of the greatest eminence in the city, accompanied those, who were to intercede for his restitution; and a full Senate decreed a change of dress, as in a general mourning. When he was on his return from exile, the Senate and people went out to meet him; they conducted him in triumph, as it were, and with the greatest shouts from the *Porta Capena* to the Capitol.

possit Antonius. An in Senatu facillimè de me ⁶de-
trahi posse credidit? ⁷qui ordo clarissimis civibus
bene gestae reipublicae testimonium multis, mihi uni
conservatae dedit. An decertare mecum voluit con-
tentione dicendi? hoc quidem beneficium est; quid
enim plenius, quid uberius, quàm mihi et pro me et
contra Antonium dicere? Illud profectò est; non ex-
istimavit sui similibus probari posse, se esse hostem
patriae, nisi mihi esset inimicus. Cui priusquàm de
caeteris rebus respondeo, de amicitia, quam a me
violatam esse criminatus est, quod ego gravissimum
crimen judico, pauca dicam.

II. Contra rem suam me, nescio quando, venisse
questus est. An ego non venirem ⁸contra alienum
pro familiari et necessario meo? non venirem contra
gratiam, non virtutis spe, sed ⁹aetatis flore collectam?
non venirem contra injuriam, quam ¹iste intercesso-
ris nequissimi beneficio obtinuit, non jure praetorio?
Sed hoc idcirco commemoratum a te puto, ut te

6. *Detrahi*—Antony thought he could diminish the popularity of Cicero, by calumniating him in the Senate.

7. *Qui ordo, etc.*—The Senate had conferred the praise of *well governing* the republic upon many, but the praise of *preserving* the republic upon Cicero alone. Cato, when speaking in the Senate respecting Catiline's conspiracy, called Cicero *The father of his country*.

8. *Contra alienum pro familiari meo*—It is not known, who this friend and relation was; but the stranger was Q. F. Bambalio, whose daughter Antony had married. Cicero, having appeared for his friend, against this Bambalio, was reproached by Antony with having violated the laws of friendship.

9. *Aetatis flore collectam*—When Antony was young, he was popular, not on account of his virtues, but rather on account of the vivacity of youth, and his agreeable qualities.

1. *Iste*—It seems from this passage, that, notwithstanding some Tribune bribed by Antony interposed against Cicero's friend, yet Bambalio lost his cause.—The *jus praetorium* was a power assumed, by the Praetors, of mending, supplying, and correcting the civil law, as necessity and equity should require.

²infimo ordini commendares; cùm omnes te recorderentur libertini generum, et liberos tuos nepotes Q. Fadii, libertini hominis, fuisse. At enim te ³in disciplinam meam tradidēras; (nam ita dixisti) domum meam ventitāras; nae tu, si id fecisses, meliùs famae, meliùs pudicitiae tuae consulisses: sed nec fecisti, nec, si cupēres, tibi id per ⁴C. Curionem facere licuisset. ⁵Auguratùs petitionem mihi te concessisse dixisti. O incredibilem audaciam! ô impudentiam praedicandam! Quo enim tempore me augurem a toto collegio expetitum Cn. Pompeius et Q. Hortensius nominavērunt, (neque enim licebat a pluribus nominari) nec tu solvendo eras, nec te ullo modo, nisi eversâ republicâ, incolūmem fore putabas.

2. *Infimo ordini*—The plebeian order.

3. *In disciplinam meam*—It was customary, when young men took the *manly gown*, to place them under the tuition of some eminent citizen, that they might be instructed in useful knowledge and the duties of life, and be formed to virtue and humanity.

4. *C. Curionem*—Curio was a young nobleman of brilliant talents; admirably fitted by nature to adorn the character (in which his father and grandfather had flourished before him) of one of the principal orators of Rome; but a natural propensity to pleasure, stimulated by the example and counsels of his perpetual companion, Antony, hurried him into all the extravagance of expence and debauchery. When his father, by Cicero's advice, obliged him to quit the familiarity of Antony, he reformed his conduct, and adhering to the instructions and maxims of Cicero, became the favourite of the city, the leader of the young nobility, and a warm assertor of the authority of the Senate, against the power of the Triumviri.—After his father's death, upon his first participation of publick honours, and admission into the Senate, his ambition and desire of popularity engaged him in so great prodigality, that, to supply the magnificence of the shews and plays, with which he entertained the city, he was soon driven to the necessity of selling himself to Caesar, and fell the first victim in the civil war.

5. *Auguratus, etc.*—It was necessary, that a candidate for admission into the college of augurs, should be nominated by two augurs, who gave a solemn testimony upon oath of his dignity and fitness for the office; this was done in Cicero's case by Pompey and Hortensius, the two most eminent members of the college.

Peteras autem eo tempore auguratum petere, cum in Italiâ Curio non esset? aut tum, cum es factus, unam tribum sine Curione ferre potuisses? cujus etiam familiares de vi condemnati sunt, quod tui nimis studiosi fuissent.

III. *At beneficio sum usus tuo: quo? quanquam illud ipsum, quod commemoras, semper prae me tuli. Malui me tibi debere confiteri, quàm cuiquam minùs prudenti non satis gratus videri: sed quo beneficio? quod me Brundusii non occideris? quem ipse ⁷victor, qui tibi, ut tute gloriari solebas, detulerat ex latronibus suis principatum, salvum esse voluisset, in Italiam ire jussisset, eum tu occideres? fac potuisse; quod est aliud, P. C. beneficium latronum, nisi ut commemorare possint, iis se vitam dedisse, quibus non ademèrint? Quod si esset beneficium, nunquam ii, qui illum interfecerunt, *a quo erant servati, quos tu ipse viros clarissimos appellare soles, tantam essent gloriam consecuti. Quale autem beneficium est, quod te abstinueris nefario scelere? quâ in re non tam jucundum videri mihi debuit, non interfectum a te, quàm miserum, id te impunè facere potuisse. Sed

6. *At beneficio sum usus tuo*—After Pompey was defeated in the battle of Pharsalia, Cato endeavoured to persuade Cicero, at the request of his friends, to take the command of the fleet; but, as Caesar was pursuing, Cicero fled to Brundisium, with a design to go into Italy. Antony, having been sent there before by Caesar, might have killed Cicero, as he refused both the authority of Pompey and of Caesar.

7. *Victor.....latronibus suis*—Caesar sent Antony at the head of an army into Italy, to subject it to his power. Cicero, by using the word *latronibus*, insinuates, that the soldiers under Antony were rather robbers, than honourable warriors.

8. *A quo erant servati*—In this observation, says Merouille, Brutus and Cassius must not be included. They never submitted to Caesar.

sit beneficium, quandoquidem majus accipi a latrone nullum potuit: in quo potes me dicere ingratum? an ⁹de interitu reipublicae queri non debui, ne in te ingratus viderer? At in illâ querelâ, miserâ quidem et luctuosâ, sed mihi pro ¹hoc gradu, in quo me Senatus populusque Romanus collocavit, necessariâ, quid est dictum a me cum contumeliâ? quid non moderatè? quid non amicè? Et quidem cujus temperantiae fuit, de M. Antonio querentem, abstinere maledicto? praesertim cum tu ²reliquias reipublicae dissipavisses? cum domi tuae turpissimo mercatu omnia essent venalia? cum leges eas, quae nunquam ³promulgatae essent, et de te et a te latas confiterere? cum auspicia augur, intercessionem consul sustulisses? cum esses foedissimè stipatus armatis? cum omnes impuritates pudicâ in domo quotidie susciperes, vino lustrisque confectus? At ego, tanquam mihi cum ⁴M. Crasso contentio esset, quocum multae et magnae fuerunt, non cum uno gladiatore nequissimo, de re. graviter querens, de homine nihil dixi. Itaque, hodie perficiam, ut intelligat, quantum a me beneficium tum acceperit.

9. *De interitu reip.*—Antony was endeavouring to destroy the constitution; he wanted not only to assume the power, which Caesar usurped, but also to reverse the laws made by Caesar.

1. *Hoc gradu*—Cicero was a Senator and a man of consular rank, than which no grade of honour was higher in the republick.

2. *Reliquias reipublicae*—These words probably mean the publick money laid up in the temple of Ops, which Antony claimed to himself, and made subservient to the purposes of his ambition, or perhaps they refer to the four thousand talents obtained from Calpurnia, Caesar's wife.

3. *Promulgatae*—Before any law was passed, it was published twenty days.

4. *M. Crasso*—Cicero was at enmity with Crassus, because he imagined, that Crassus had been engaged in Catiline's conspiracy. They were however reconciled afterwards.

IV. At etiam literas, quas me sibi misisse dicēret, recitavit homo et humanitatis expers et vitae communis ignarus. Quis enim unquam, qui paululūm modò bonorum consuetudinem nōsset, literas ad se ab amico missas, offensione aliquā interpositā, in medium protulit, palāmque recitavit? Quid est aliud tollere e vitā vitāe societatem, quā tollere amicorum colloquia absentium? quā multa joca solent esse in epistolis, quae prolata si sint, inepta esse videantur? quā multa seria, neque tamen ullo modo divulganda? Sit hoc inhumanitatis tuae: stultitiam incredibilem videte. Quid habes, quod mihi oppōnas, homo diserte, ut *Mustellae Tamisio et Tironi Numisio vidēris*? qui cum hoc ipso tempore stent cum gladiis in conspectu Senatūs, ego quoque te disertum putabo, si ostenderis, quo modo sis eos inter sicarios defensurus. Sed quid opponas tandem, si negem me unquam istas literas ad te misisse? quo me teste convincas? an chirographo? *in quo habes scientiam quaestuosam: quā possis?* sunt enim librarii manu. Jam invideo magistro tuo, qui te tantā mercēde, quantam jam profiteram, nihil sapere doceat. Quid enim est minū non dico oratoris, sed hominis, quā id objicere adversario, quod ille, si verbo negārit, longiūs progredi non possit, qui objecerit? At ego non nego: teque in isto ipso convinco non inhumanitatis solū, sed etiam amentiae; quod enim verbum in istis literis est non plenum humanitatis, officii, benevolentiae?

5. *Mustellae, etc.*—All that is known of these men is, that they were ruffians employed by Antony; illiterate fellows, and qualified only to execute his brutal purposes.

6. *In quo, etc.*—Referring to Antony's inserting various clauses in Caesar's will and other papers.

Omne autem crimen tuum est, quòd te in his literis non malè existimem ; quòd scribam tanquam ad civem, tanquam ad bonum virum ; non tanquam ad sceleratum et latronem. At ego ⁷tuas literas, etsi jure poteram a te lacessitus, tamen non proferam ; quibus petis, ut tibi per me liceat quendam de exilio reducere ; adjūrasque id te, invito me, non esse facturum : idque a me impetras ; ⁸quid enim me interponerem audaciae tuae, quam neque auctoritas hujus ordinis, neque existimatio populi Romani, neque leges ullae possent coercere ? Veruntamen quid erat, quod me rogares, si erat is, de quo rogabas, Caesaris lege reductus ? sed videlicet meam gratiam voluit esse, in quo ne ipsius quidem ulla poterat esse, lege latā.

V. Sed cum mihi, Patres Conscripti, et pro me aliquid, et in M. Antonium multa dicenda sint ; alterum peto a vobis, ut me pro me dicentem benignè ; alterum ipse efficiam, ut, contra illum cum dicam, attentè audiatis : simul illud oro, si meam cum in omni vita, tum in dicendo moderationem modestiamque cognōstis, ne me hodie, cum isti, ut provocavit, respondero, oblitum esse putetis mei : non tractabo ut consulem ; ne ille quidem me ut consularem : etsi ille nullo modo consul, vel quòd ita vivit, vel quòd ita rempublicam gerit, vel quòd ita factus est [consul] ; ego sine ullā controversiā consularis. Ut igitur intelligeretis, qualem ipse se consulem prōfiteretur, ob-

7. *Tuas literas*—The letters Cicero received from Antony relative to the restoration of Sextus Clodius.

8. *Quid enim, etc.*—Cicero had no intention to oppose Antony vigorously, as he knew Clodius would return in consequence of a law passed by Caesar.

jecit mihi consulatum meum : qui consulatus, verbo meus, P. C. re vester fuit ; quid enim constitui, quid gessi, quid egi, nisi ex hujus ordinis consilio, auctoritate, sententiâ ? Haec tu ¹ homo sapiens, non solùm eloquens, apud eos quorum consilio sapientiâque gesta sunt, ausus es vituperare ? Quis autem meum consulatum, praeter P. Clodium, qui vituperaret, inventus est ? cujus quidem tibi fatum, sicuti ² C. Curioni, manet ; quoniam id domi tuae est, ³ quod fuit illorum utriq̃ue fatale. Non placet M. Antonio consulatus meus : at placuit ⁴ P. Servilio, ut eum primum nominem ex illius temporis Consularibus, qui proximè est mortuus : placuit ⁵ Q. Lutatio Catulo, cujus semper in hâc republicâ vivet auctoritas : placuit ⁶ duobus Lucullis, ⁷ M. Crasso, ⁸ Q. Hortensio,

9. *Homo sapiens*—Irony.

1. *C. Curioni*—Curio, having driven Cato out of Sicily, marched with four legions into Africa against Varus, who, strengthened by the conjunction of Juba, had reduced the whole province to subjection. Upon his landing, he met with some success, but was afterwards entirely defeated and slain near the river Bagrada, by Sabura, Juba's General.

2. *Quod...utriq̃ue fatale*—Meaning Fulvia, who was first married to Clodius, whom Milo killed ; next to Curio, above mentioned ; and lastly to Antony.

3. *P. Servilio*—He conquered the Isaurians in Cilicia, and obtained the surname of Isauricus.

4. *Q. L. Catulo*—Catulus was a man of much respectability and influence in the republick.

5. *Duobus Lucullis*—Lucius and Marcus—Lucius Lucullus conducted the war against Mithridates—See notes to oration for the Manilian law.

6. *M. Crasso*—Marcus Licinius Crassus was famous for his riches.—He was a friend to Cicero, and said, that as often as he thought of his wife, his house, and his country, so often he thought of the benefit he derived from Cicero's Consulship,

7. *Q. Hortensio*—C. Curioni, etc.—Of Hortensius, we have already spoken in note 3rd, page 117th. This Curio was Consul thirteen years before Cicero. Cicero speaks of him in his treatise *De claris oratoribus*.—Lepidus was Caesar's master of the horse, and afterwards was one of the Triumviri.—Piso was the brother of Lucius Piso,

C. Curioni, M. Lepido, C. Pisoni, M. Glabrioni, L. Volcatio, C. Figulo, D. Silano, et L. Muraenae, qui tum erant consules designati : placuit idem, quod consularibus, ^oM. Catoni : qui cum multa, vitâ excedens, providit, tum quòd te Consulem non vidit. Maximè verò consulatum meum ^oCn. Pompeius probavit, qui, ut me primùm decedens ex Syriâ vidit, complexus et gratulans, meo beneficio patriam se visurum esse dixit. Sed quid singulos commemoro ? frequentissimo Senatui sic placuit, ut esset nemo, qui non mihi, ut parenti, gratias ageret, qui non mihi vitam suam, liberos, fortunas, rempublicam referret acceptam.

VI. Sed quoniam illis, quos nominavi, tot et talibus viris respublica orbata est, veniamus ad vivos, qui duo e consulari numero reliqui sunt. ¹L. Cotta, vir summo ingenio summâque prudentiâ, rebus iis gestis, quas tu reprehendis, supplicationem decrevit

the father-in-law of Caesar.—*Glabrio* was Consul four years before Cicero, and was one of those, who voted in the Senate against Catiline.—*Volcatius* was Consul three years before Cicero—*Figulus* was a man of integrity and much respected ; he was consul the year before Cicero.—*Silanus* and *Muraena* were Consuls elect in the year, in which Cicero was Consul. For Muraena Cicero delivered an oration, to defend him against the charge of having infringed the law against bribery.

8. *M. Caton*—Cato never arrived to the Consulship ; the highest office he ever bore was the Praetorship. He was a man of great innocence and influence, addicted to the philosophy of the Stoicks ; that he might not see his country enslaved by Caesar, he killed himself at Utica ; from which circumstance he is often called *Cato Uticensis*.

9. *Cn. Pompeius*—When Pompey returned from his Asiatick expedition, he returned thanks to Cicero, declaring that he should seek a triumph in vain, unless the city had been preserved by Cicero, in which he could triumph.

1. *L. Cotta*—Cotta was a man of much prudence and virtue, and Consul two years before Cicero.

verbis amplissimis ; eique illi, quos modò nominavi, consulares Senatusque cunctus assensus est ; qui honos post conditam hanc urbem habitus est togato ante me nemini. ²L. Caesar, avunculus tuus, quâ oratione, quâ constantiâ, quâ gravitate sententiam dixit in sororis suae virum, vitricum tuum ? hunc tu cum auctorem et praeceptorem omnium consiliorum totiusque vitae debuisses habere, ³vitrici te similem, quam ⁴avunculi esse maluisti : hujus ego alienus consiliis consul usus sum : tu sororis filius, ecquid ad eum unquam de republicâ retulisti ? At ad quos refert ? dii immortales ! ad eos scilicet, quorum nobis etiam ⁵dies natales audiendi sunt. Hodie ⁶non descendit Antonius : cur ? dat natalitia in hortis : cui ? neminem nominabo : putatote tum ⁷Phormioni alicui tum Gnathoni, tum Ballioni. O foeditatem hominis flagitiosam ! ô impudentiam, nequitiam, libidinem non ferendam ! tu, cum ⁸principem senatorem, civem singularem, tam propinquum habeas, ad eum de repub. nihil referas ; ad eos referas, qui suam rem nullam habent, tuam exhauriunt ? Tuus videlicet salutaris consulatus, perniciosus meus.

VII. Adeo-ne pudorem cum pudicitia perdidisti, ut hoc in eo templo dicere ausus sis, in quo ego Sena-

2. *Lucius Caesar* was Consul a year before Cicero.

3. *Vitrici*—This was Lentulus Sura, who, being one of Catiline's conspirators, was put to death in prison.

4. *Avunculi*—This was Lucius Caesar.

5. *Dies natales*—Birth-days were observed by the Romans as great festivals.

6. *Non descendit Antonius*—Antony did not come into the Senate on that occasion, detained by the birth-day of some parasite.

7. *Phormioni, etc.*—These were names of famous parasites in the plays of Terence and Plautus.

8 *Principem senatorem*—L. Caesar, who was Antony's uncle.

tum illum, qui quondam florens orbi terrarum praesidebat, consulēbam : tu homines perditissimos cum gladiis collocasti ? At etiam ausus es (quid autem est, quid tu non audeas ?) clivum Capitolinum dicere, me consule, plenum servorum armatorum fuisse : ut illa, credo, nefaria senatusconsulta fierent, vim adferebam Senatui. O miser, sive illa tibi nota non sunt, (nihil enim boni nōsti) sive sunt, qui apud tales viros tam impudentē loquāre ! Quis enim eques Romanus, quis praeter te adolescens nobilis, quis ullius ordinis, qui se civem esse meminisset, cum Senatus in hoc templo esset, in clivo Capitolino non fuit ? quis nomen non dedit ? quanquam nec scribae sufficere, nec tabulae nomina illorum capere potuerunt. Etenim cum homines nefarii de patriae parricidio confiterentur, consociorum indicibus, suā manu, voce penē literarum coacti, se urbem inflammare, cives trucidare, vastare Italiam, delēre rempublicam consensisse, quis esset, qui ad salutem communem defendendam non excitaretur ? praesertim cum Senatus populusque Romanus haberet ducem, qualis si quis nunc esset, tibi idem, quod illis accidit, contigisset. Ad sepulturam corpus vitrici sui negat a me datum. Hoc verò ne P.

9. *Nefaria senatusconsulta*—Cicero speaks ironically, as he refers to those decrees of the Senate, by which the republic was preserved from ruin.

1. *Consociorum indicibus*—Besides others, who confessed, there was one Caeparius, who, upon a publick promise of protection, discovered the whole conspiracy.

2. *Negat a me datum*—Antony had objected to Cicero, that he refused burial to the corpse of Lentulus Sura, who, after the death of Antony's father, married his mother, and who was put to death in prison for having been engaged in Cataline's conspiracy ; but Plutarch, in his life of Antony, shews, that this charge was groundless.

quidem Clodius dixit unquam ; quem, quia jure ei fui inimicus, doleo a te jam omnibus vitiis esse superatum. Quid autem tibi venit in mentem redigere in memoriam nostram, te domi P. Lentuli esse educatum ? an verebāre, ne non putaremus naturā te potuisse tam improbum evadere, nisi accessisset etiam disciplina ?

VIII. Tam autem eras excors, ut totā in oratione tuā tecum ipse pugnares : ut non modò non cohaerentia inter se diceres, sed maximè disjuncta, atque contraria : ut non tanta mecum, quanta tecum, tibi esset contentio. Vitricum tuum in tanto fuisse scelere fātebāre, poenā affectum querebāre. Ita, quod propriè meum est, laudāsti ; quod totum Senatūs est, reprehendisti : nam comprehensio sontium, mea ; animadversio, Senatūs fuit ; homo disertus non intelligit eum, quem contra dicit, laudari a se ; eos, apud quos dicit, vituperari. Jam illud cujus est non dico audaciae, (cupit enim se audacem dici) sed, quod minimè vult, stultitiae, quā vincit omnes, clivi Capitolini mentionem facere, cum inter subsellia nostra versentur armati ? cum in hāc cellā Concordiae, ô dii immortales ! in quā, me consule, salutare sententiae dictae sunt, quibus ad hanc diem viximus, cum gladiis homines collocati stent ? Accusa Senatum, accusa equestrem ordinem, qui tum cum Senatu copulatus fuit : accusa omnes ordines, cives, dum confiteāre hunc ordinem, hoc ipso tempore, ³ab Ityraeis circumsederi. Haec

3. *Ityraeis circumsederi*—Jews, (so called from a province of Palestine), whom Antony, when he served under Gabinus, the Proconsul, brought with him to Rome, as persons every way qualified to execute his brutal and ambitious purposes.

tu non propter audaciam dicis tam impudentèr, sed quia tantam rerum repugnantiam non videas: nihil profectò sapis; quid est enim dementius, quàm, cum ipse reipublicae perniciosa arma ceperis, objicere alteri salutaria? At etiam quodam loco facetus esse voluisti: quàm id te, dii boni! non decebat? in quo est tua culpa nonnulla; aliquid enim salis ab ⁴uxore mima trahere potuisti: ⁵*Cedant arma togae*; quid tum? non-necesserunt? At postea tuis armis cessit toga. Quaeramus igitur, utrum melius fuèrit libertati populi Romani sceleratorum arma, an libertatem nostram armis tuis cedere? Nec, verò tibi de versibus plura respondebo: tantùm dicam breviter, te neque illos, neque ullas omnino literas nòsse: me nec reipublicae, nec amicis unquam defuisse, et tamen omni genere monumentorum meòrum perfecisse operis subsecivis, ut meae vigiliae meaeque literae et juventuti utilitatis, et nomini Romano laudis aliquid adferrent. Sed haec non hujus temporis: ad majora veniamus.

IX. P. Clodium meo consilio interfectum esse dixisti. Quidnam homines putarent, si tum occisus es-

4. *Uxore mimà*—This was Cytheris, one of Antony's mistresses, whom he is said to have carried with him in his military expeditions. Some commentators think she is the person, who is mentioned by Virgil in those lines of Eclogue 10th,

*Galle, quid insanis? inquit, tua cura, Lycoris,
Perque nives alium, perque horrida castra secuta est.*

She was called Volumnia also, from Volumnius Entrapelus, who was acquainted with her before Antony. She had indeed various names, which is no uncommon thing with ladies of her character.

5. *Cedant arma togae*—This famous distich has been a source of much raillery upon Cicero's poetical character; and two bad lines, says the ingenious author of his life, picked out by the malice of his enemies, and transmitted to posterity, as a specimen of the rest, have served to damn many thousands of good ones: Antony had been severe upon him in regard to his poetry; and it is observable, that his answer is not in that elegant and polite strain of raillery, of which he was master on other occasions.

set, cum tu illum in foro, inspectante populo Romano, gladio stricto insecutus es ; negotiumque transegisses, nisi ille se in scalas tabernae librariae conjecisset, hisque oppilatis impetum tuum compressisset ? Quod, quidem ego favisse me tibi fateor, suasisse ne tu quidem dicis ; at Miloni ne favere quidem potui ; prius enim rem transegit, quàm quisquam eum id facturum suspicaretur. At ego suasi. Scilicet is animus erat Milonis, ut prodesse reipublicae sine suasore non posset. At laetatus sum ; quid ergo ? in tantâ laetitâ cunctae civitatis me unum tristem esse oportebat ? Quanquam de morte P. Clodii fuit quaestio non satis prudenter illa quidem constituta : quid enim attinebat novâ lege quaeri de eo, qui hominem occidisset, cum esset legibus quaestio constituta ? quaesitum est tamen. Quod ergo, cum res agebatur, nemo in me dixit ; id tot annis post tu es inventus, qui diceres ? Quod verò dicere ausus es, idque multis verbis, *operâ meâ Pompeium a Caesaris amicitia esse disjunctum, ob eamque causam meâ culpâ civile bellum esse natum ; in eo non tu quidem totâ re, sed, quod maximum est, temporibus errasti.*

X. Ego, ⁷ M. Bibulo, praestantissimo cive, consule, nihil praetermisi, quantum facere enitique potui, quin

6. *Operâ meâ, etc.*—Cicero indeed did endeavour to separate Pompey from Caesar, when it was feared, that, if their arms were united, they would destroy the liberties of the republick ; but not, when he saw there was a probability, that a civil war would exist between them. Cicero was always an adviser of peace.

7. *M. Bibulo*—Bibulus was Consul with Caesar, but Caesar deprived him of his authority, and even prohibited him from the Senate. At this time was formed the triumvirate of Caesar, Pompey and Crassus : they governed the republick as they pleased. It became an object then with every good man to have Pompey separated from Caesar.

Pompeium a Caesaris conjunctione avocarem : in quo Caesar fuit felicior ; ipse enim Pompeium a meâ familiaritate disjunxit. ⁸Postea verò quàm se totum Pompeius Caesari tradidit, quid ego illum ab eo distrahere conarer ? stulti erat sperare ; suadere impudentis. Duo tamen tempora incidērunt, quibus aliquid contra Caesarem Pompeio suaserim : ea velim reprehendas, si potes : unum, ⁹ne quinquennii imperium Caesari prorogaret : alterum, ne pateretur fieri, ut absentis ejus ratio haberetur : quorum si utrumvis persuasissem, in has miserias nunquam incidissemus. Atque idem ego, cum jam ¹omnes opes et suas et populi Rom. Pompeius ad Caesarem detulisset, seròque ea sentire coepisset, quae ego antè multò provideram, inferique patriae bellum nefarium viderem, pacis, concordiae, compositionis auctor esse non destiti : meaque illa vox est nota multis, **UTINAM**, Cn. Pompei, cum C. Caesare societatem aut nunquam coïsses, aut nunquam diremisses ! fuit alterum gravitatis, alterum prudentiae tuae. Haec mea, M. Antōni, semper et de Pompeio et de republicâ consilia fuerunt : quae si valuissent, respublica staret ; tu tuis flagitiis, egestate, infamiâ concidisses.

8. *Postea vero, etc.*—Pompey married Julia, the daughter of Caesar, and by this means the alliance between them was strengthened.

9. *Ne quinquennii imperium prorogaret, etc.*—By the Vatinian law Caesar obtained the province of Gaul for five years. When this time had elapsed, by the interest of Pompey and Crassus, he obtained a prolongation of his command. Pompey when he was Consul the third time, in the year of Rome 701, procured also a law, empowering Caesar to offer himself a candidate for the Consulship, without appearing personally at Rome, as law and custom required. To these laws Cicero and Cato were opposed.

1. *Omnes opes, etc.*—Plutarch relates, that Pompey sent two legions to Caesar in Gaul.

A A

XI. Sed hæc vetera ; illud verò recens, Caesarem meo consilio interfectum. Jam vereor, Patres Conscripti, ne, quod turpissimum est, praevaricatorem mihi apposuisse videar, qui me non solum meis laudibus ornaret, sed etiam oneraret alienis : quis enim meum in istâ societate gloriosissimi facti nomen audivit ? cujus autem, qui in eo numero fuisset, nomen est occultatum ? occultatum dico ? cujus non statim divulgatum ? citius dixerim jactasse se aliquos, ut fuisse in eâ societate viderentur, cum conscii non fuissent, quàm ut quisquam celari vellet, qui fuisset. Quàm verisimile porrò est, in tot hominibus partim obscuris, partim adolescentibus, neminem occultantibus, meum nomen latere potuisse ? Etenim si auctores ad liberandam patriam desiderarentur illis auctoribus, Brutos ego impellerem, quorum uterque ²L. Bruti imaginem quotidie videret, alter etiam ³Ahalaë ? Hi igitur, his majoribus orti, ab alienis potius consilium peterent, quàm a suis ? et foris, potius quàm domo ? Quid ? ⁴C. Cassius, in eâ familiâ natus, quae non modò dominatum, sed ne potentiam quidem cujusquam ferre potuit, me auctorem, credo, desideravit : qui etiam sine his clarissimis viris hanc rem in Ciliciâ, ad ostium fluminis Cydni confecisset, si ille ad eam ripam, quam constituerat, non ad contrariam, naves appulisset. ⁵Cn. Domitium non patris interitus,

2. *L. Bruti*—Lucius Junius Brutus, who expelled the Tarquins.

3. *Ahalaë*—Servilius Ahala was one of Brutus' ancestors, by the mother's side ; he slew Sp. Melius, who was suspected of aiming at sovereignty.

4. *Cassius*—Cassius was descended from that C. Cassius, who put his own son to death, because suspected of having designs against the state.

5. *Cn. Domitium*—Suetonius gives a great character to this Domitius. He was son to L. Domitius, who fell in the battle of Pharsalia, and nephew to Cato Uticensis.

clarissimi viri, non avunculi mors, non spoliatio dignitatis ad recuperandam libertatem, sed mea auctoritas excitavit? An C. Trebonio ego persuasi, cui ne suadere quidem ausus essem? quò etiam majorem ei respublica gratiam debet, qui libertatem populi Romani uniùs amicitiae praeposuit; depulsorque dominatùs, quàm particeps esse maluit. * An L. Tullius Cimber me est auctorem secutus? quem ego magis fecisse illam rem sum admiratus, quàm facturum putavi: admiratus sum autem ob eam causam, quòd immemor beneficiorum, memor patriae fuisset. Quid ⁷duos Servilios, Cascas dicam, an Ahalas? et hos auctoritate meà censes excitatos potiùs, quàm caritate reipublicae? Longum est persequi caeteros; idque reipublicae praeclarum, fuisse tam multos, ipsis gloriosum.

XII. At, quemadmodum me coarguerit homo acutus, recordamini. Caesare interfecto, inquit, statim cruentum altè extollens M. Brutus pugionem, Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit, atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus. Cur mihi potissimum? quòd sciebam? Vide, ne illa causa fuerit appellandi mei, quòd, cum rem gessisset ⁶consimilem rebus eis, quas ipse gesseram, me potissimum testatus est, se aemulum mearum laudum exitisse. Tu autem, omnium stultissime, non intelligis, si id, quod me ar-

6. *L. Tullius Cimber*—Seneca, in his epistles to Lucullus, says, that this Cimber was a notorious drunkard, and that, nevertheless, the secret of Caesar's assassination was as much intrusted to him as it was to Cassius, who all his life had drunk nothing but water.

7. *Duos Servilios*—Servilius Isauricus, and his son, who was twice Consul.

8. *Consimilem*—Cicero delivered his country from Catiline's conspiracy; Brutus, from Caesar's tyranny.

guis, voluisse interfici Caesarem, crimen sit; etiam laetatum esse morte Caesaris crimen esse? quid enim interest inter suasorem facti, et probatorem? aut quid refert, utrùm voluërim fieri, an gaudeam factum? ecquis est igitur, te excepto, et iis, qui illum regnare gaudebant, qui illud aut fieri noluërit, aut factum improbârit? omnes enim in culpâ; etenim omnes boni, quantum in ipsis fuit, Caesarem occiderunt: aliis consilium, aliis animus, aliis occasio defuit; voluntas nemini. Sed stuporem hominis, vel dicam pecudis, attendite; sic enim dixit: **M. BRUTUS, QUEM EGO HONORIS CAUSA NOMINO, CRUENTUM PUGIONEM TENENS, CICERONEM EXCLAMAVIT: EX QUO INTELLIGI DEBET, EUM CONSCIUM FUISSE.** Ergo ego sceleratus appellor a te, quem tu suspicatum aliquid suspicaris; ille, qui stillantem prae se pugionem tulit, is a te honoris causâ nominatur? Esto: sit in verbis tuis hic stupor: quanto in rebus sentiis que major? Constitue hoc, consul, aliquando; Brutorum, C. Cassii, Cn. Domitii, C. Trebonii, reliquorum quam velis esse causam: edormi crapulam, inquam, et exhala: an faces admovendae sunt, quae te excitent tantae causae indormientem? nunquam ne intelliges, statuendum tibi esse, utrùm illi, qui istam rem gesserunt, homicidae sint, an vindices libertatis?

XIII. Attende enim paulisper cogitationemque sobrii hominis ad punctum temporis suscipe; etenim ego, qui sum illorum, ut ipse fateor, familiaris, ut a te arguor, socius, nego quidquam esse medium: confi-

teor eos, nisi liberatores populi Romani conservatoresque reipublicae sint, plus quàm sicarios, plus quàm homicidas, plus etiam quàm parricidas esse: siquidem est atrocius patriae parentem, quàm suum occidere. Tu, homo sapiens et considerate, quid dicis? si parricidae; cur honoris causâ a te sunt et in hoc ordine et apud populum Romanum, semper appellati? cur M. Brutus, te referente, legibus est solutus, si ab urbe plus quàm decem dies abfuisset? cur ludi Apollinares incredibili M. Bruti honore celebrati? cur provinciae Cassio et Bruto datae? cur quaestores additi? cur legatorum numerus auctus? Atque haec acta per te; non igitur homicidae: sequitur ut liberatores tuo iudicio sint; quandoquidem tertium nihil potest esse. Quid est? num conturbo te? non enim fortassè satis, quae distinctiùs dicuntur, intelligis; sed tamen haec est summa conclusionis meae: quoniam scelere a te liberati sunt, ab eodem te amplissimis praemiis dignissimi iudicati sunt. Itaque jam retexo orationem meam, scribam ad illos, ut, si qui fortè, quod a te mihi objectum est, quaerent, sit-ne

9. *Legibus est solutus*—Brutus and Cassius, being obliged to depart from Rome after Caesar's death, and not thinking it safe to return on account of the violence of the mob, their friends solicited the Senate for some extraordinary employment to be granted to them, to cover the appearance of a flight, and the disgrace of living in banishment, when invested with one of the first magistracies of the republick. As Praetors, their residence was absolutely necessary at Rome, and could not legally be dispensed with for above ten days in the year; but Antony readily procured a decree to absolve them from the laws, being glad to see them in a situation so contemptible, stript of their power, suffering a kind of exile, and depending, as it were, upon him for their protection. By his means commissions were granted to them to buy up corn in Asia and Sicily for the use of the republick; which commissions were intended to degrade them, as the offices conferred were much below their characters.

verum ; ne cui negent : etenim vereor, aut ne celatum me illis ipsis non honestum ; aut invitatum refugisse mihi sit turpissimum. Quae enim res unquam (proh sancte Jupiter !) non modò in hâc urbe, sed in omnibus terris est gesta major ? quae gloriosior ? quae commendatior hominum memoriae sempiternae ? in hujus me consilii societatem, tanquam in ¹equum Trojanum, cum principibus includis ? non recuso. Ago etiam gratias, quoquo animo facis ; tanta enim res est, ut invidiam istam, quam tu in me vis concitare cum laude non comparem. Quid enim beatius illis quos tu expulsos a te praedicas, et relegatos ? qui locus est aut tam desertus, aut tam inhumanus, qui illos, quò accesserint, non affari atque appetere videatur ? qui homines tam agrestes, qui se, cum eos adspexerint, non maximum cepisse vitae fructum putent ? quae verò tam immemor posteritas, quae tam ingratae literae reperientur, quae eorum gloriam non immortalitatis memoriâ prosequantur ? Tu verò adscribe me talem in numerum.

XIV. Sed unam rem vereor, ne non probes : si enim fuissem, non solùm regem, sed regnum, etiam de republicâ sustulissem : et, si meus stylus ille fuisset, (ut dicitur) mihi crede, ²non solùm unum actum,

1. *Equum Trojanum*—Cicero refers to the wooden horse, by means of which the Grecians destroyed Troy. See Virgil's *Aeneid*, book second.

2. *Non solum unum actum, sed totam fabulam confecissem*—It has already been observed, that the authors of Caesar's death were undecided in their conduct, after they had slain him. Cicero seems here to imply, that it was his opinion, that more should have been done, besides removing Caesar. This was but one act ; the success of the drama was not complete ; there should have been a catastrophe, which would have destroyed faction, and reformed the abuses of the constitution of the republick. He seems to insinuate, that many should have been slain.

sed totam fabulam confecissem. Quanquam si interfici Caesarem voluisse crimen est, vide quaeso, Antōni, quid tibi futurum sit ; quem et ³Narbōne ⁴hoc consilium cum C. Trebonio cepisse notissimum est, et ob ejus consilii societatem cum interficeretur Caesar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus ⁵sevocari. Ego autem (vide quān tecum agam non inimicē) quod benē cogitāsti aliquando, laudo ; quod non indicāsti, gratias ago ; quod non fecisti, ignosco : virum res illa quaerēbat. Quōd si te in judicium quis adducat, usurpētque illud Cassianum, CUI BONO FUERIT, vidē, quaeso, ne haereas : quanquam illud quidem fuit, ut tu dicebas, omnibus bono, qui servire nolebant ; tibi tamen praecipuē, qui non modō non servis, sed etiam regnas : qui maximo te aere alieno ad aedem Opīs liberāsti : qui per easdem tabulas in-

3. *Narbōne*—This was one of the most ancient cities of Gaul, and gave its name to the province in which it was situated.

4. *Hoc consilium, etc.*—When the conspirators were consulting about killing Caesar, it was debated among them, whether they should invite Antony to assist them ; but Trebonius was opposed to the motion, pretending, that he knew Antony's sentiments relative to this matter, as he had already endeavoured to urge Antony to it, at that time when Caesar was returning from Gaul. He represented at the same time, that Antony refused to comply with what he proposed, but that he had nevertheless kept the secret faithfully. They then debated whether they should kill Antony together with Caesar ; but Brutus opposed this, because he thought, that whatever was undertaken in defence of liberty and the laws of one's country ought, if possible, to be conducted in a popular manner. Thus much Plutarch relates ; Cicero, however, affirms, that Antony entered into the design against Caesar, but that he had not courage to assist in the execution of it.

5. *Sevocari*—When the conspirators determined on the manner, in which Caesar should be slain, they ordered Trebonius to call Antony aside, in fear that Antony, who was then consul, and Caesar's colleague, should exert his consular power to frustrate their design.

numerabilem pecuniam dissipavisti: ⁶ad quem e domo Caesaris tam multa delata sunt: ⁷cujus domus quaestuosissima est falsorum commentariorum et chirographorum, officina, agrorum, oppidorum, immunitatum, vectigalium flagitiosissimae nundinae. Etenim quae res egestati et aerī alieno tuo, praeter mortem Caesaris, subvenire potuisset? Nescio quid conturbatus esse mihi vidēris; nunquid subtimes, ne ad te hoc crimen pertinere videatur? libero te metu; nemo credet unquam: non est tuum de republicā benē mereri: habet istius pulcherrimi facti clarissimos viros respublica auctores: ego te tantum gaudere dico, fecisse non arguo. Respondi maximis criminibus: nunc etiam reliquis respondendum est.

XV. ⁸Castra mihi Pompeii atque omne illud tempus objecisti; quo quidem tempore, si, ut dixi, meum consilium auctoritasque valuisset, tu hodie egeres, nos liberi essemus; respublica non tot duces et exercitus amisisset. Fatear enim, me, cum ea, quae accidērunt, providērem futura, tanta in moestitiā fuisse, quantā caeteri optimi cives, si idem providissent,

6. *Ad quem, etc.*—Calpurnia, Caesar's wife, after the death of her husband, fled for shelter to Antony, carrying with her all the money Caesar had left behind him, amounting to near a million sterling.

7. *Cujus domus, etc.*—Antony had much reason to be pleased with the death of Caesar, as it became the means of his political elevation; by altering the writings, which Caesar left, foisting into them new clauses, and bribing those, who wrote them to write others in the same hand, he was enabled to govern the republick, dispose of offices, and gratify his own desires in the same manner, as Caesar had done.

8. *Castra Pompeii, etc.*—Antony said of Cicero, that, though he espoused Pompey's party in the civil wars, yet he did more injury than service to his friends, which assertion Cicero undertakes to refute; he advised peace, as he foresaw the evil consequences of war, and of victory on either side.

fuissent. Dolebam, dolebam, P. C. rempublicam vestris quondam meisque consiliis conservatam, brevi tempore esse perituram. Neque verò eram tam indoctus ignarusque rerum, ut frangerer animo propter vitæ cupiditatem, quæ me manens conficeret angoribus, dimissa molestiis omnibus liberaret; illos ego præstantissimos viros, lumina reipublicæ, vivere volebam, tot consulares, tot prætorios, tot honestissimos senatores, omnem præterea florem nobilitatis ac juventutis, tum optimorum civium exercitus: qui si viverent, quamvis iniquâ conditione pacis, (mihi enim pax omnis cum civibus bello civili utilior videbatur) rempublicam hodie teneremus. Quæ sententia si valuisset, ac non ii maximè mihi, quorum ego vitæ consulebam, spe victoriae elati obstitissent; ut alia omittam, tu certè nunquam in hoc ordine, vel potius nunquam in hac urbe mansisses. At verò Cn. Pompeii voluntatem a me abalienabat oratio mea: an ille quemquam plùs dilexit? cum ullo aut sermones aut consilia contulit sæpiùs? quod quidem erat magnum, de summâ rep. dissentientes, in eâdem consuetudine amicitiae permanere: sed et ego, quid ille, et contrà ille, quid ego et sentirem et spectarem, videbat: ego incolumitati civium primùm, et postea

9. *At vero, etc.*—When Cicero joined Pompey, he was greatly dissatisfied with many things in regard to his management of the war, and the conduct of the chiefs of his party, who, trusting to the superiour fame and authority of their leader, and dazzled with the splendour of the troops, which the princes of the east had sent to their assistance, assured themselves of victory, and, without reflecting on the different characters of the two armies, would hear of nothing but fighting. Cicero endeavoured to discourage this wild spirit; but, finding that his remonstrances were slighted, he resumed his usual way of railery, and, what he could not frustrate by his authority, endeavoured to make ridiculous by his jests.

dignitati ; ille praesenti dignitati potiùs consulebat : quòd autem habēbat uterque quod sequeretur, idcirco tolerabilior erat nostra dissensio. Quid verò ille singularis vir ac penè divinus de me senserit, sciunt qui eum de Pharsālīcā fugā ¹ Paphum persecuti sunt ; nunquam ab eo mentio de me, nisi honorifica, nisi plena amicissimi desiderii, cum me vidisse plus fateretur, se speravisse meliora : et ejus viri nomine me insectari audes, cujus me amicum, te sectorem esse fateare ?

XVI. Sed omittatur bellum illud, in quo tu nimium felix fuisti. Ne jocis quidem respondēbo, quibus me in castris usum esse dixisti : erant illa quidem castra plena curae ; verum tamen homines, quamvis in turbidis rebus sint, tamen, si modo homines sunt, interdum animis relaxantur. Quòd autem idem moestitiā meam reprehendit, idem jocum ; magno argumentō est, me in utrōque fuisse moderatum. ² Haereditates mihi negāsti venire. Utinam hoc tuum verum ³ crimen esset ! plures amici mei et necessarii viverent : sed quī istuc tibi venit in mentem ? Ego enim ampliùs H. S. ducenties acceptum haereditatibus retuli. Quanquam in hoc genere

1. *Paphum*—After the defeat at Pharsalia, Pompey fled to Paphos, a city of Cyprus.

2. *Haereditates mihi negāsti venire*—It was common among the Romans to bequeath legacies to distinguished men, and it was a reproach to a man of talents to have no legacy bequeathed him. In reply to this sarcasm of Antony, Cicero said, he wished that what Antony said was true, as in that case many of his friends, who were dead, would be living ; and then he asserts, that he had received by legacies 156,000*l*.

3. *Crimen*—reproach—H. S.—these two letters are written corruptly for *L. L. S.*—*Sestertius*, equal in value to two pounds of brass and a half ; the two pounds being marked by *L. L. Libra, Libra*, and the half *S. Semis*

‘fateor feliciorē esse te : me nemo, nisi amicus, fecit haerēdem, ut cum illo commōdo, si quod erat, animi quidam dolor jungeretur ; te is, quem tu vidisti nunquam, L. Rubrius ‘Cassinus fecit haeredem : et quidem vide, quā te amārit is, qui, albus atēve fueris ignōrans, fratris filium praeteriit : Q. Furii, honestissimi equitis Romani, suique amicissimi, quem palam haerēdem semper facitārat, ne nomen quidem perscripsit ; te, quem nunquam vidērat, aut certē nunquam salutavērat, fecit haeredem. Velim mihi dicas, nisi molestum est, L. Tursellius quā facie fuerit, quā statūrā, quo municipio, quā tribu : nihil scio, inquires, nisi quae praedia habuerit : igitur fratrem exhaeredans te faciebat haeredem. In multas praeterea pecunias alienissimorum hominum, ejectis veris haeredibus, tanquam haeres esset, invasit. Quamquam hoc maximē admiratus sum, mentionem te haereditatum ausum esse facere, cum ipse haereditatem patris non adisses.

XVII. ‘Haec ut colligeres, homo amentissime, tot dies ‘in aliena villā declamāsti ? quanquam tu

4. *Fateor feliciorē esse te*—Cicero insinuates, that he succeeded to legacies only by the wills of his friends ; that Antony succeeded to legacies not by the wills of his friends, but by forging wills of both friends and enemies and defrauding their heirs.

5. *Cassinus*—Cassinum—was a town of Campania, near which the *via Appia* and *via Latina* meet.

6. *Patris*—He had dissipated his estate.

7. *Haec ut colligeres, etc.*—After Cicero delivered his first Philippick, Antony determined to answer him in person in the Senate, and for this purpose is said to have employed himself seventeen days in preparing the materials of a speech, and declaiming against Cicero in Scipio’s villa near the Tiber.

8. *Alienā villā*—These are words of reproach, which imply, that notwithstanding the rapacity and frauds of Antony, he was so prodigal, that he had not a villa of his own, in which he could uninterruptedly persevere in his study, or indulge in recreation.

quidem (ut tui familiarissimi dictitant) vini exhalandi, non ingenii acuendi causâ declamâtas. Et verò adhibes joci causâ magistrum, suffragio tuo et compotorum tuorum ⁹rhêtozem; cui concessisti ut in te, quae vellet, diceret: salsum omninò hominem, sed materia facilis in te et in tuos dicta dicere. Vide autem, quid intersit inter te et ¹avum tuum: ille sensim dicebat, quod causae prodesset; tu cursim dicis aliena. At quanta merces rhêtori data est? Audîte, audîte, P. C. et cognoscite reipublicae vulnera: duo millia jugerum ²campi Leontini Sex. Clodio rhêtori assignâsti, et quidem immunia, ut pro tantâ mercêde nihil sapere disceres: num etiam hoc, homo audacissime ³ex Caesaris commentariis? Sed dicam alio loco et de Leontino agro et de Campano: quos iste agros ereptos reipublicae turpissimis possessoribus inquinavit. Jam enim quoniam criminibus ejus satîs respondi, de ipso emendatore et correctore nostro quaedam dicenda sunt; nec enim omnia effundam, ut, si saepiùs decertandum sit, ut erit, semper novus veniam; quam facultatem mihi multitudo istius vitiorum peccatorumque largitur.

XVIII. Vis-ne igitur te inspiciamus a puero? sic opinor: a principio ordiamur. Tenes-ne memoriâ

9. *Rhetorem*—A rhetorician was less honourable than an orator, because the former taught the rules of rhetoric in private, which the latter practised in publick.

1. *Avum tuum*—M. Antonius, grandfather of Antony, was a celebrated orator,

2. *Campi Leontini Sex. Clodio*—This Sextus Clodius, the rhetorical master of Antony, was a Sicilian by birth, and received from Antony two thousand acres of Leontine land, esteemed the most fertile in Sicily, as a reward for his instructions.

3. *Ex Caesaris commentariis*—Cicero reproachfully asks, whether Caesar's posthumous decrees, which Antony altered and interpolated as he pleased, bestowed these lands upon Sex. Clodius.

praetextatum ⁴te decoxisse? patris, inquires, ista culpa est: concēdo: at enim est ⁵pietatis plena defensio. Illud tamen audaciae tuae, quòd sedisti in quatuordecim ordinibus, cum esset ⁶lege Rosciâ decoctoribus certus locus constitutus, quamvis quis fortunae vitio, non suo decoxisset. Sumpsisti virilem, quam statim ⁷muliebre togam reddidisti: primò vulgare scortum: certa flagitii merces, nec ea parva: sed citò Curio intervēnit, qui te a meretricio quaestu abduxit; et, tanquam stolam dedisset, in matrimonio stabili et certo locavit. Nemo unquam puer emptus libidinis causā tam fuit in domini potestate, quā tu in Curionis: quoties te pater ejus domo suā ejectionis? quoties custodes posuit, ne limen intrares? cum tamen tu, nocte sociā, hortante libidine, cogente mercede, per tēgulas demitterere: quae flagitia domus illa diutiùs ferre non potuit. Scis-ne me de rebus mihi notissimis dicere? recordare tempus illud, cum pater Curio moerens jacebat in lecto; filius, se ad pedes meos prosternens, lacrymans, te mihi commendabat; orabat,

4. *Decoxisse*—became bankrupt.—*Patris*—It has already been observed that Antony's father had dissipated his estate.

5. *Pietatis*—The original signification of this word, and the sense in which it is here used, is filial duty.

6. *Lege Rosciâ*—The Roscian law decreed, that those Knights, whose estates were correspondent to their dignity, should have benches provided for them in the theatre, from which all Knights should be excluded, who either by their own fault, or the fault of fortune had lost their property.

7. *Muliebre togam*—Alluding to the libidinous pleasures of Antony. At first among the Romans the gown was worn by both men and women. Afterwards the modest women were distinguished by the *palla* and the *stola*; the former was their ordinary vest, worn within doors, coming down to their ankles; the latter they put on when they went abroad, and covered with it the *stola* and their whole body. The common courtesans were not allowed to wear the *stola*, but were obliged to appear in a gown, as a mark of infamy, on account of its resemblance to the habit of the opposite sex.

B B

ut te contra suum patrem, si ⁸sestertiū sexagies peteret, defenderem : tantū enim se pro te intercessisse [dicebat.] Ipse autem amore ardens confirmabat, quod desiderium tui discidii ferre non posset, se in exilium esse iturum. Quo ego tempore tanta mala florentissimae familiae sedavi, vel potiùs sustuli : patri persuasi, ut aes alienum filii dissolveret ; redimeret adolescentem, summā spē et animi et ingenii praeditum, rei familiaris facultatibus ; eumque a tuā non modò familiaritate, sed etiam congressione patrio jure et potestate prohiberet. Haec tu cum per me acta meminisses, nisi illis, quos videmus, gladiis confideres, maledictis me provocare ausus esses ?

XIX. Sed jam stupra et flagitia omittam ; sunt quaedam, quae honestè non possum dicere ; tu autem eò liberior, quòd ea in te admisisti, quae a verecundo inimico audire non posses. Sed reliquum vitae cursum videte ; quem quidem celeritèr perstringam : ad haec enim, quae in civili bello, in maximis reipub. miseriis fecit, et ad ea quae quotidie facit, festinat animus : quae peto, ut, quanquam multò notiora vobis, quàm mihi sunt, tamen, ut facitis, attentè audiat : debet enim talibus in rebus excitare animos non cognitio solum rerum, sed etiam recordatio ; tametsi incidamus oportet media, ne nimis serò ad extrema veniamus. ⁹Intimus erat in tribunatu Clodio, ¹qui

8. *Sestertium sexagies*.—40,000*l.* and upwards.

9. *Intimus erat in tribunatu Clodio*—Antony was intimate with Clodius, while the latter was in prosperity, but deserted him, when in adversity.

1. *Qui erga me beneficia commemorat*—No favours Antony could bestow upon Cicero, could compensate for his being an intimate friend of Clodius, while that seditious tribune was executing the dictates of his implacable enmity against Cicero.

sua erga me beneficia commemorat : ²ejus omnium incendiorum fax : cujus etiam domi ³quiddam jam tum molitus est : quid dicam, ipse optimè intelligit. Inde itur Alexandriam ⁴contra Senatûs auctoritatem, contra religionem : sed habebat ducem Gabinium, quicum quidvis rectissimè facere posset. Qui tum inde ⁵reditus, aut qualis ? priùs in ultimam Galliam ex Aegypto, quàm domum : quae autem erat domus ? suam enim quisque domum tum obtinebat, neque erat usquam tua : domum dico ? quid erat in terris, ubi in tuo pedem poneress, praeter unum Misenum, quod cum sociis tanquam ⁶Sisaponem tenebas ?

XX. Venisti e Gallia ad quaesturam petendam. Aude dicere, te priùs ad parentem tuam venisse, quàm ad me ; ⁷acceperam enim jam antè Caesaris litteras, ut mihi satisfieri paterer a te : itaque ne lo-

2. *Ejus incendiorum fax*—The profligacy of Antony's character justified this assertion.

3. *Quiddam*—Antony endeavoured to commit adultery with Fulvia, Clodius' wife, whom, after the death of Clodius, he married.

4. *Contra Senatus auctoritatem*.—Ptolemy, King of Egypt, being expelled by the Alexandrines, applied to the Romans for restoration to his throne. Gabinus, persuaded by Antony, undertook to reinstate him, contrary to the authority of the Senate, and to the Sibylline oracles, which forbade that an Egyptian king should be replaced by an army.

5. *Reditus....prius in ultimam....quam domum*—From Egypt, whither Antony had gone with Gabinus, he went to Caesar in farther Gaul ; his numerous debts prevented his going to Rome. As Cicero asserts, Antony had no house, except one at Misenum, a part of which was in possession of his creditors.

6. *Sisaponem*—Sisapo was a town of Corduba, in Spain, famous for its mines of red lead. It is here applied reproachfully to Antony's possession of his farm at Misenum ; for Sisapo was held in common, not by any one in particular.

7. *Acceperam Caesaris litteras*—One of Antony's objects in going to Caesar in Spain was to procure money enough to secure an election to the Quaestorship ; but, fearing, that he should not succeed, if Cicero was opposed to him, on account of his intimacy with Clodius, he prevailed upon Caesar to write conciliatory letters to the Orator.

qui quidem sum te passus de gratiâ : postea cultus sum a te, tu a me observatus in petitione quaesturæ : quo quidem tempore P. Clodium, approbante populo Romano, in foro es conatus occidere : cumque eam rem tuâ sponte conarere, non impulsu meo, tamen ita prædicabas, te non existimare, nisi illum interfecisses, unquam mihi pro tuis in me injuriis satis esse facturum : in quo demoror, cur Milonem impulsu meo rem illam egisse dicas, cum te ultrò mihi idem illud deferentem nunquam sum adhortatus : quamquam si in eo perseverâsses, ad tuam gloriam rem illam referri malebam, quàm ad meam gratiam.

⁸Quæstor es factus ; deinde continuò sine senatus-consulto, sine sorte, sine lege ad Caesarem cucurristi ; id enim unum in terris egestatis, aeris alieni, nequitiae, perditis vitae rationibus perfugium esse ducebas. Ibi te cum et illius largitionibus et tuis rapinis explevisse, (si hoc est explere, quod statim effundas) advolas egens ad tribunatum, ut in eo magistratu, si posses, vitrici tui similis esses.

XXI. Accipite nunc, quaeso, non ea, quae ipse in se, atque in domesticum dedecus impurè atque intemperantè, sed quae in nos fortunasque nostras, id est, in universam rempublicam impiè ac nefariè fecerit ; ab hujus enim scelere omnium malorum principium natum reperietis. Nam, cum, L. Lentulo, C. Marcello consulibus, Kalendis Januar. labentem et propè

8. *Quæstores factus*—The Quæstors, who were the treasurers of the republick, were sent annually into the seven provinces, one with every Proconsul or Governor, to whom they were next in authority ; their provinces were assigned them by decree of the Senate, or by casting lots. But Antony, without regard to laws or customs, went directly to Caesar, as soon as he was made Quæstor.

cadentem rempublicam fulcire cuperētis, *ipsique C. Caesari, si sanā mente esset, consulere velletis ; tum iste venditum atque mancipatum Tribunatum consiliiis vestris opposuit, cervicesque suas ei subjecit securi, quā multi minoribus in peccatis occiderunt. In te autem, M. Antoni, id decrevit Senatus, et quidem incolumis, nondum ¹tot luminibus extinctis, quod in ²hostem togatum decerni est solitum more majorum : et tu apud Patres Conscriptos contra me dicere ausus es, cum ab hoc ordine ego conservator essem, tu hostis reipublicae iudicatus ? Commemoratio illius tui sceleris intermissa est, non memoria deleta ; dum genus hominum, dum populi Romani nomen extabit, (quod quidem erit, si per te licuerit, sempiternum) tua illa pestifera intercessio nominabitur. Quid cupidē a Senatu, quid temerē fiebat, cum tu unus adolescens universum ordinem decernere de salute reipublicae prohibuisti ? neque id semel, sed saepius ? neque tu tecum de Senatūs auctoritate agi passus es ? quid autem agebatur, nisi ne deleri et everti rempub-

9. *Ipsique C. Caesari*—Lentulus and Marcellus were devoted to Pompey's interest, and, when they had entered the office of Consuls, the Senate voted a decree, that Caesar before a certain day should dismiss his army, or be declared an enemy. Antony and Cassius were attached to Caesar, and during their tribuneship would permit no decree to be passed, which was detrimental to him ; they therefore opposed this ; and when the Senate perceived, that they would not withdraw their negative, they voted that the Consuls should take care, that the republick should receive no detriment. This vote gave the Consuls absolute power over every individual in the city, whom they thought were enemies to the commonwealth. Antony and Cassius, supposing themselves endangered, immediately departed from Rome, and fled to Caesar's Camp.

1. *Tot luminibus extinctis*—Cato, Marcellus, Lentulus, Domitius, and other worthy characters, who were slain in the civil war.

2. *Hostem togatum*—A conspirator or traitor, who, without putting off the robe of peace, betrays his country.

licam funditus velles, cum te neque principes civitatis rogando, neque majores natu monendo, neque frequens Senatus agendo de venditâ atque addictâ sententiâ movere potuit? Tum illud, multis rebus ante tentatis, necessariò tibi vulnus inflictum, quod paucis ante te, quorum incolumis fuit nemo; tum contra te dedit arma hic ordo consulibus reliquisque imperiis et potestatibus, quae non effugisses, nisi te ad arma Caesaris contulisses.

XXII. ³Tu, tu, inquam, M. Antōni, princeps C. Caesari, omnia perturbare cupienti, causam belli contra patriam inferendi dedisti. Quid enim aliud ille dicebat? quam causam dementissimi sui consilii et facti afferebat, nisi quòd intercessio neglecta, jus tribunitium sublatum, circumscriptus a Senatu esset Antonius? omitto quàm haec falsa, quàm levia; praesertim cum omninò nulla causa justa cuiquam esse possit contra patriam arma capiendi. Sed nihil de Caesare; tibi certè confitendum est, causam perniciosissimi belli in personâ tuâ constitisse. O miserum te, si intelligis! miseriorem, si non intelligis, hoc literis mandari, hoc memoriae prodi, hujus rei ne posteritatem quidem omnium saeculorum unquam immemorem fore; ⁴consules ex Italiâ expulsos, cumque his Cn. Pompeium, qui imperii populi

3. *Tu, tu.....princeps*—The conduct of Antony in his Tribuneship was such, that the Senate were obliged to take violent measures. Antony then fled to Caesar, and afforded him a pretext for usurping the power of his country. Caesar used the pretext; and among other pretences, by which he justified the usurpation, complained, that the constitution was disregarded by the Senate and Consuls, that Antony's *Veto* was overruled, and himself persecuted by them for discharging the official duties of the Tribuneship.

4. *Consules expulsos*—As Caesar advanced to the city, Marcellus and Lentulus fled to Pompey, who was with his army at Capua.

Romani decus ac lumen fuit ; omnes consulares qui per valetudinem exsequi cladem illam fugamque potuissent ; praetores, praetorios, tribunos plebis, magnam partem Senatûs, omnem sobolem juventutis, unoque verbo rempublicam expulsam atque exterminatam suis sedibus. Ut igitur in seminibus est causa arborum et stirpium, sic hujus luctuosissimi belli semen tu fuisti. Doletis, ⁵tres exercitus populi Romani interfectos ; interfecit Antonius : desideratis clarissimos cives ; eos quoque eripuit vobis Antonius : auctoritas hujus ordinis afflicta est ; afflixit Antonius : omnia denique, quae postea vidimus, (quid autem mali non vidimus ?) si rectè ratiocinabimur, uni accepta referemus Antonio : ut ⁶Helena Trojanis, sic iste huic reipublicae causa belli, causa pestis atque exitii fuit. Reliquae partes tribunatûs principio similes : omnia perfecit, quae Senatus, salvâ republicâ, ne fieri possent perfecerat ; cujus tamen scelûs in scelere cognoscite.

XXIII. Restituebat multos calamitosos : in his ⁷patrui nulla mentio : si severus, cur non in omnes ? si misericors cur non in suos ? sed omitto caeteros. Licinium Denticulam de ~~aleâ~~ condemnatum, collusorem suum, restituit : quasi verò ludere cum condemnato non liceret : sed ut, quod ille in aleâ perdiderat, beneficio legis dissolveret. Quam attulisti rationem populo Romano, cur eum restitui oporteret ? absen-

5. *Tres exercitus*—Pompey's at Pharsalia, Afranius' in Spain, and Scipio's in Africa.

6. *Helena Trojanis*—For the story of Helen the student is referred to Virgil's Aeneid.

7. *Tui patrui nulla mentio*—C. Antonius, who was Cicero's colleague in the Consulship, had the province of Macedonia assigned to him, and for mal-administration was condemned to perpetual exile.

tem credo in reos relatum ; rem indictâ causâ judicatam ; nullum fuisse de aleâ lege judicium ; vi oppressum et armis ; postremò, quòd de patruo tuo dicebatur, pecuniâ judicium esse corruptum ; nihil horum. At vir bonus et republicâ dignus. Nihil id quidem ad rem ; ego tamen, quoniam condemnatum esse pro nihilo est, si ita easset, ignoscèrem : hominem omnium nequissimum, qui non dubitaret vel in foro aleâ ludere, ⁸lege, quae est de aleâ, condemnatum, qui in integrum restituit, is non apertissimè studium suum ipse profitetur ? In eodem verò Tribunatu, ⁹cum Caesar in Hispaniam proficiscens huic conculcandam Italiam tradidisset, quae fuit ejus peragratio itinerum ? lustratio municipiorum ? Scio me in rebus celebratissimis sermone omnium versari ; eaque, quae dico dicturusque sum, notiora omnibus esse, qui in Italiâ tum fuere, quàm mihi, ¹qui non fui : notabo tamen singulas res : etsi nullo modo poterit oratio mea satisfacere vestrae scientiae. Etenim quod unquam in terris tantum flagitium extitisse auditum est ? tantam turpitudinem ? tantum dedecus ?

XXIV. Vehebatur in ¹⁰essedo tribunus plebis : lictores laureati antecedeabant ; inter quos, apertâ lecti-

8. *Leges, quae est de aleâ*—Sylla passed a law, by which all gaming was prohibited, except such games as improved the body by exercise ; such as throwing the spear, running, jumping, wrestling, and boxing.

9. *Cum Caesar in Hispaniam*—When Caesar went to Spain, he committed Rome to the government of Lepidus, the Praetor, and Italy and the other garrisons to Antony, who was then Tribune. During the absence of Caesar, Antony lived very profligately.

1. *Qui non fui*—Cicero resided only a short time in Italy, while Caesar was in Spain.

2. *Essedo*—This was a kind of warlike waggon used in battle by the Gauls and Britons.

câ, ³mima portabatur ; quam ex oppidis municipales, homines honesti, obviâ necessariò prodeuntes, non noto illo et mimico nomine, sed Volumniam consalutabant : sequebatur rheda cum lenonibus, comites nequissimi : ⁴rejecta mater amicam impuri filii, tanquam nurum, sequebatur. O miserae mulieris foecunditatem calamitosam ! Horum flagitiorum iste vestigiis omnia municipia, praefecturas, colonias, totam denique Italiam impressit. Reliquorum factorum ejus, P. C. difficilis est sanè reprehensio, et lubrica : versatus in bello est ; saturavit se sanguine dissimillimorum sui civium ; fuit felix, si potest ulla esse in scelere felicitas. Sed, quoniam veteranis cautum esse volumus, quanquam dissimilis est militum causa, et tua : illi secuti sunt, tu quaesisti ducem : tamen, ne apud illos me in invidiam voces, nihil de belli genere dicam. ⁵Victor e Thessaliâ ⁶Brundusium cum legionibus revertisti : ibi me non occidisti ; magnum beneficium : potuisse enim fateor ; quanquam nemo erat eorum, qui tum tecum, fuerunt, qui mihi non censêret parci oportere ; tanta enim est caritas patriae, ut vestris etiam legionibus sanctus essem, quòd eam a me servatam esse meminissent : sed fac id te dedisse mihi, quod non ademisti ; meque a te habere vitam, quia a te non sit erepta : licuit-ne mihi

3. *Mima portabatur*—This mistress of Antony was Cytheris, who was also called Volumnia.

4. *Rejecta mater*—The unhappy mother of Antony was obliged to follow this actress as an attendant.

5. *Victor e Thessaliâ*—Pharsalia was in Thessaly.

6. *Brundusium*—Was a port in Italy, in which Caesar, after the battle of Pharsalia, stationed Antony to guard Italy, while he pursued Pompey.—At Brundusium it was in Antony's power to kill Cicero.

per tuas contumelias hoc beneficium sic tueri, ut tuebar, praesertim cum te haec auditurum videres ?

XXV. Venisti Brundusium in sinum quidem et in complexum tuae mimulae. Quid est ? num mentior ? quàm miserum est id negare non posse, quod sit turpissimum confiteri ? si te municipiorum non pudēbat ; ne veterani quidem exercitūs ? quis enim miles fuit, qui Brundusii illam non viderit ? quis, qui nescierit venissē eam tibi ? tot dierum viam gratulatum ? quis, qui non indoluerit, tam serò se, quàm nequam hominem secutus esset, cognoscere ? Italiae rursus percursatio, eādē comite mimā ; in oppida militum crudelis et misera deductio ; in urbe auri, argenti, maximēque vini foeda direptio. Accessit, ut Caesare ignaro, cum esset ille Alexandriae, beneficio amicorum ejus magister equitum constitueretur : tum existimavit se suo jure cum Hippiā vivere, et equos vectigales Sergio mimo tradere : tum sibi non hanc, quam nunc malè tuetur, sed M. Pisonis domum, ubi habitaret, legērat. Quid ego istius decreta, quid rapinas, quid haereditatum possessiones datas, quid ereptas proferam ? cogebat egestas, quò se verteret, non habebat : nondum ei tanta a L. Rubrio, non a L. Turselio haereditas venerat nondum in Cn. Pompeii locum multorumque aliorum, qui abērant, repentinus haeres successerat : erat ei vivendum latronum ritu, ut tantum habēret, quantum rapere potuisset. Sed haec, quae robustioris improbitatis sunt, omittamus :

7. *Tot dierum*—Brundusium was fourteen days journey from Rome.

8. *Equos vectigales*—Tributary horses.

9. *Non hanc*—Antony had unlawfully entered and kept possession of Pompey's house.

loquamur potius de nequissimo genere levitatis. Tu istis faucibus, istis lateribus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate tantum vini in ¹Hippiæ nuptiis exhauseras, ut tibi necesse esset in populi Rom. conspectu vomere postridie. O rem non modò visu foedam, sed etiam auditu ! Si inter coenam, in ipsis tuis immanibus illis poculis, hoc tibi accidisset, quis non turpe duceret ? in coetu verò populi Romani negotium publicum gerens, magister equitum, cui ructare turpe esset, is vomens, frustis esculentis, vinum redolentibus, gremium suum et totum tribunal implevit. Sed hoc ipse fatetur esse in suis sordibus : veniamus ad splendida.

XXVI. Caesar Alexandria se recepit, felix, ut sibi quidem videbatur ; meâ autem sententiâ, si quis reipublicae sit infelix, felix esse non potest : ²hastâ positâ pro aede Jovis Statôris, bona Cn. Pompeii (miserum me ! consumptis enim lacrymis, tamen infixus animo haeret dolor) bona inquam, Cn. Pompeii Magni voci acerbissimae subjecta praetonis : una in illâ reservitutis oblita civitas ingemuit ; servientibusque animis, cum omnia metu tenerentur, gemitus tamen populi Romani liber fuit : expectantibus omnibus,

1. *Hippiæ nuptiis*—Hippia separated herself from her first husband, who was a Senator and married the actor Sergius. At the nuptials of these debauched lovers, Antony drank so much wine, that the next day he vomited in the presence of the Roman people, which would have been scandalous in a common citizen, and was extremely disgraceful to a magistrate, so eminent as the master of the horse.

2. *Hastâ positâ*—After the Alexandrine war was ended, Antony advertised the goods and estate of Pompey for sale at publick auction. At the sale a spear was erected as usual, which signified, that the auction was legal, that instrument of war being an emblem of authority.

quisnam esset tam impius, tam demens, tam diis hominibusque hostis, qui ad illud scelus sectionis auderet accedere, inventus est nemo, praeter Antonium : praesertim cum tot essent circum hastam illam, qui alia omnia auderent : ³unus inventus est, qui id auderet, quod omnium fugisset et reformidasset audacia. Tantus igitur te stupor oppressit, vel, ut veriùs dicam, tantus furor, ut, primùm cum sector sis isto loco natus, deinde cum Pompeii sector, non te execrandum populo Romano, non detestabilem, non omnes tibi deos, non omnes homines, et esse inimicos et futuros scias ? At quàm insolentèr statim helluo invasit in ejus viri fortunas, cujus virtute terribior erat populus Romanus extèris gentibus, justitiâ carior ?

XXVII. In ejus igitur viri copias cum se subito ingurgitavisset, exultabat gaudio, persôna de mimo, modò egens, repentè dives ; sed, ut est ⁴apud poetam nescio quem, *Malè parta, malè dilabuntur* : incredibile ac simile portenti est, quonam modo illa tam multa, quàm paucis, non dico mensibus, sed diebus effuderit : maximus vini numerus fuit, permagnum optimi pondus argenti, pretiosa vestis multa, et lauta suppellex, et magnifica multis locis, non illa quidem luxuriosi hominis, sed tamen abundantis : horum paucis diebus nihil erat. Quae ⁵Charybdis tam vorax ? Charybdin dico ? quae si fuit, fuit animal unum. Oceanus, mediusfidiùs, vix videtur tot res,

3. *Unus inventus*—Antony.

4. *Apud poetam*—This poet is said to be Naevius.

5. *Charybdis*—Charybdis is a whirlpool in the strait between the island of Sicily and Italy, and is opposite to the rock Scylla. See Virgil's Aeneid, B. IIIrd, ver. 414th and the following.

tam dissipatas, tam distantibus in locis positas, tam citò absorbere potuisse. Nihil erat clausum, nihil obsignatum, nihil scriptum : apothecae totae nequissimis hominibus condonabantur : alia mimi rapiabant, alia mimae : domus erat aleatoribus referta, plena ebriorum : totos dies potabatur, atque id locis pluribus : suggerebantur etiam saepè (non enim semper iste felix) damna aleatoria : *conchyliatis Cn. Pompeii peristromatis servorum in cellis lectos stratos videres. Quamobrem desinite mirari, haec tam celeritèr esse consumpta ; non modò unius patrimonium, quamvis amplum, ut illud fuit, sed urbes et regna celeritèr tantâ nequitia devorare potuisset. At ejusdè m aedes etiam et hortos. O audaciam immanem ! tu etiam ingrèdi illam domum ausus es ? tu illud sanctissimum limen intrare ? tu illarum aedium diis Penatibus os importunissimum ostendere ? Quam domum aliquandiu nemo aspicere poterat, nemo sine lacrymis praeterire, hâc te in domo tamdiu diversari non pudet ? in quâ, quamvis nihil sapias, tamen nihil tibi potest esse jucundum.

XXVIII. An tu, illa in vestibulo ⁊rostra, spolia cum adspexisti, domum tuam te introire putas ? fieri non potest : quamvis enim sine mente, sine sensu sis, ut es, tamen et te, et tua, et tuos nôsti ; nec verò te unquam neque vigilantem, neque in somnis credo mente posse consistere. Necesse est, quamvis sis, ut

6. *Conchyliatis, etc.*—The beds of Pompey's slaves were ornamented with purple quilts.

7. *Rostra, etc.*—The spoils Pompey had taken from the ships of the enemy in the piratic war.—The Romans were fond of decorating their porches, and the avenues to their houses.

es violentus et furens, cum tibi objecta sit species singularis viri, perterritum te de somno excitari, fure re etiam saepè vigilantem. Me quidem miseret parietum ipsorum, atque tectorum : quid enim unquam domus illa viderat, nisi pudicum, nisi ex optimo more et sanctissimâ disciplinâ ? fuit enim ille vir, P. C. sicut scitis, cum foris clarus, tum domi admirandus ; neque rebus externis magis laudandus, quàm institutis domesticis : hujus in aedibus pro cubiculis stabula, pro tricliniis popinae sunt : etsi jam negat : nolite, nolite quaerere ; frugi factus est ; mimam illam suam ⁸suas res sibi habere jussit, ex duodecim tabulis ; claves ademit, forasque exēgit⁹ : quàm porrò spectatus civis, quàm probatus ; cujus ex omni vitâ nihil est honestius, quàm quòd cum mimâ fecit divortium ? At quàm crebrò usurpat, ⁹*Et consul et Antonius* ? hoc est dicere, et consul, et impudicissimus ; et consul, et homo nequissimus : quid enim est aliud Antonius ? nam si dignitas significaretur in nomine, dixisset aliquando, credo, avus tuus, *Et consul et Antonius* ; nunquam dixit : dixisset etiam collega meus, patruus tuus : nisi tu solus es Antonius. Sed omitto ea peccata, quae non sunt ¹earum partium propria, quibus tu rempublicam vexavisti : ad ipsas tuas partes redeo, id est, ad civile bellum : quod natum, conflatum, susceptum operâ tuâ est.

8. *Suas res sibi habere jussit*—That is, he divorced his actress ; for the form of a divorce of this kind was a command, ordering the wife, *res suas sibi habere*, and sometimes, *res suas sibi agere* ; which was according to the law of the Twelve Tables.

9. *Et consul et Antonius*—This was an appellation, which the vanity of Antony gave to himself.

1. *Earum partium*—Caesar's party, which Antony followed.

XXIX. ²Cui bello cum propter timiditatem tuam, tum propter libidines defuisti : gustâras civilem sanguinem, vel potiùs exsorbueras : fuëras in acie Pharsalicâ antesignanus : ³L. Domitium, nobilissimum et clarissimum virum, occideras : multos, qui e praelio effugerant, quos Caesar, ut nonnullos, fortasse servâsset, crudelissimè persecutus trucidâras ; quibus rebus tantis, talibus gestis, quid fuit causae, cur in Africam Caesarem non sequerere, cum praesertim belli pars tanta restaret ? Itaque quem locum apud ipsum Caesarem, post ejus ex Africâ reditum, obtinuisti ? quo numero fuisti ? cujus tu imperatoris quaestor fueras, dictatoris magister equitum, belli princeps, crudelitatis auctor, praedae socius, ⁴testamento, ut ipse dicebas, filius, appellatus es de pecuniâ, quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro sectione debebas : primò ⁵respondisti planè ferocitèr ; et (ne omnia videar contra te) propemodùm aequa et justa dicebas. A me C. Caesar pecuniam ? cur potiùs, quàm ego ab illo ?

2. *Cui bello*—This war was undertaken after Caesar had finished the Alexandrine war. Caesar prosecuted it in Africa against Scipio and Cato ; but Antony did not join him.

3. *L. Domitium*—L. Domitius Aenobarbus was a man, eminent for his glorious actions, and, before the commencement of the civil wars, was ordered by the Senate to succeed Caesar in Gaul.

4. *Testamento*—It has been said, that Caesar was not so much pleased with Antony, when the civil wars were ended, as he had been during their continuance. Some proof of this was Caesar's demanding immediate payment of the money, which Antony had obligated himself to pay by the purchase of Pompey's estate. But it is supposed Caesar never had a design of ruining Antony, and that he desired only to check his extravagance, and thus make him more useful to his own designs.

5. *Respondisti ferocitèr*—Trusting to his interest with Caesar, Antony never designed to pay for Pompey's estate ; and, when Caesar demanded payment, was so much provoked, that he is said to have conceived a design against Caesar's life, of which Caesar himself complained openly in the Senate.

an ille sine me vicit ? at ne potuit quidem : ego ad illum belli civilis causam attuli ; ego leges perniciosas rogavi ; ego arma contra consules imperatoresque populi Romani, contra Senatum populumque Romanum, contra deos patrios arasque et focos, contra patriam tuli : num sibi soli vicit ? ⁶quorum facinus est commune, cur non sit eorum praeda communis ? Jus postulabas : sed quid ad rem ? plus ille poterat. Itaque, excussis tuis vocibus, et ad te et ⁷ad praedes tuos milites misit : cum repentè a te praeclará ⁸illâ tabulâ prolatâ, qui risus hominum ? tantam esse tabulam, tam varias, tam multas possessiones, ex quibus praeter partem Miseni, nihil erat, quod is qui auctionaretur, posset suum dicere. Auctionis verò miserabilis adspectus, vestis Pompeii non multa, eaque maculosa ; ejusdem quaedam argentea vasa collisa, sordidata mancipia : ut doleremus, quidquam esse ex illis reliquiis, quod vidēre possemus. Hanc tamen auctionem ⁹haeredes L. Rubrii decreto Caesaris prohibuērunt. Haerebat nebulo : quò se verteret non habebat. Quin ¹his ipsis temporibus domi Caesaris percussor ab isto missus, deprehensus dicebatur

6. *Quorum facinus est commune*—From this passage it appears, that Cicero thought, that all the partizans and companions of Caesar were as guilty as their leader of the crime of enslaving their country.

7. *Ad praedes tuos*—His bail, or sureties.

8. *Illâ tabulâ*—The inventory of Pompey's estate. Antony had destroyed, disposed of; and abused so large a portion of Pompey's estate and effects, that the inventory of them, exhibited at the sale, became an object of ridicule.

9. *Haeredes L. Rubrii*—By permission of Caesar, the heirs of Rubrius, whose goods Antony had taken, stopped the sale, that he made of the effects of Pompey, which he was obliged to sell in order to procure money to pay Caesar.

1. *Ipsis temporibus*—At the time of this sale Antony sent an assassin to Caesar's house to slay him, but the murderer did not succeed.

esse cum sicâ ; de quo Caesar in Senatu, apertè in te invehens, questus est. ²Proficiscitur in Hispaniam Caesar, paucis tibi ad solvendum, propter inopiam tuam, prorogatis diebus : ne tum quidem sequeris : tam bonus gladiator ³rudem tam citò accepisti ?

XXX. Hunc igitur quisquam, qui in suis partibus, id est, in suis fortunis, tam timidus fuerit, pertimescat ? Profectus est tandem aliquando in Hispaniam : sed tutò, ut ait, pervenire non potuit : quonam modo igitur Dolabella pervenit ? aut non suscipienda fuit ista causa, Antoni ; aut, cùm suscepisses, defendenda usque ad extremum. ⁴Ter depugnavit Caesar cum civibus, in Thessaliâ, Africâ, Hispaniâ : omnibus affuit his pugnis Dolabella ; in Hispaniensi etiam vulnus accēpit : si de meo iudicio quaeris, nollem ; sed tamen consilium a primo reprehendendum, laudanda constantia. Tu verò quis es ? Cn. Pompeii liberi primùm patriam repetebant : esto : fuerit partium haec causa communis : repetebant deos patrios, aras, focos, larem suum familiarem, in quae tu invaseras : haec cum repetērent armis ii, quorum erant legibus, (etsi in rebus iniquissimis quid potest esse aequi ?) tamen erat aequissimum contra Cn. Pompeii liberos Cn. Pompeii pugnare sectorem. An ⁵tu Narbonem mensas hospitum convomeres, Dola-

2. *Proficiscitur in Hispaniam*—When Caesar had ended the African war, he went to Spain to attack one of Pompey's sons, who had collected an army to revenge the death of his father.

3. *Rudem*—This was a kind of rod or wand given to gladiators in token of their discharge, when they had ended their combats.

4. *Ter depugnavit Caesar cum civibus*—Once in Thessaly at Pharsalia with Pompey ; once at Thapsus in Africa with Scipio and Juba ; once with the sons of Pompey at Munda in Spain.

5. *Narbone*—This city was the capital of Gallia Narbonensis.

bella pro te in Hispaniâ dimicaret? Qui verò Narbōne reditus? et tamen quaerēbat, cur ego ex ipso cursu tam subitò revertissem. Exposui nuper, P. C. causam reditūs mei; volui, si possem, etiam ante Kalendas Januarias prodesse reipublicae: nam, quòd quaerebas, quomodo redissem; primūmluē, non tenebris; deinde cum calceis et togā, nullis nec ⁶gallicis, nec lacernā. At etiam adspicis me, et quidem, ut videris, iratus: nae tu jam mecum in gratiam redeas, si scias, quā me pudeat nequitiae tuae, cujus te ipsum non pudet. Ex omnibus om̄pium flagitiis nullum turpius vidi, nullum audiui; qui magister equitum fuisse tibi viderēre, in proximum annum consulatum petēres, vel potiùs rogares, per municipia coloniasque Galliae, a quā nos tum, cum consulatus petebatur, non rogabatur, petere consulatum solebamus, cum gallicis et lacernā cucurristi.

XXXI. At videte levitatem hominis. Cum horā diei decimā ferē ad ⁷Saxa Rubra venisset, delituit in quādam cauponulā, atque, ibi se occultans, perpo-tavit ad vesperum: inde cisio celeritē ad urbem ad-
vectus, domum venit capite involuto. Janitor, Quis tu? ⁸a Marco tabellarius. Confestim ad ⁹eam, cu-
jus causā venerat, deducitur, eique epistolam tradit: quam cum illa legeret flens, (erat enim amatoriē scrip-
ta: caput autem literarum, sibi cum illā mimā post-
hac nihil futurum; omnem se amorem abjecisse il-

6. *Gallicis nec Lacernā*—Pattens and a short cloak belonged to a military dress, in which it was very improper to enter the city and appear as a candidate for any magistracy.

7. *Saxa Rubra*—This was the name of a village between Rome and the city of Veii.

8. *A Marco*—i. e. Marcus Antonius.

9. *Ad eam*—Fulvia, his wife.

hinc, atque in hanc transfudisse) cum mulier fleret uberiùs, homo misericors ferre non potuit : caput aperuit ; in collum invasit. O hominem nequam ! (quid enim aliud dicam ? magis propriè nihil possum dicere) ergo, ut te catamitum, nec opinatò cum ostendisses, praeter spem mulier aspiceret, idcirco urbem ¹terrore nocturno, Italiam multorum dierum metu perturbasti ? et domi quidem causam amoris habuisti, foris etiam turpiorem, ne ²L. Plancus praedes tuos venderet : productus autem in concionem a Tribuno plebis, cum respondisses, te rei tuae causà venisse, populum in te dicacem etiam reddidisti.

XXXII. Sed nimis multa de nugis ; ad majora veniamus. Caesari ex Hispanià redeunti obviàm longissimè processisti : celeritèr isti et redisti, ut cognosceret, te, si minùs fortem, attamen strenuum : factus es ei rursus, nescio quomodo, familiaris : ³habebat hoc omninò Caesar ; quem planè perditum aere alieno egentemque, si eundem nequam hominem

1. *Terrore nocturno*—Antony departed from Rome to compliment Caesar on his victory at Munda in Spain over the sons of Pompey, but, having met some dispatches, he returned to Rome with so much haste, that there was a great publick alarm, the people supposing, that some important event had happened, that Caesar was dead, or that, having destroyed the military force of the Pompeian party, he now approached Rome to inflict bloody revenge upon his unprotected antagonists.

2. *L. Plancus*—Plancus was an intimate friend of Cicero.

3. *Habebat hoc Caesar*—One can scarcely believe, that this Caesar is the man, whom Cicero, when delivering the oration for Marcellus and Ligarius, addressed with so much adulation. Yet he is the same ; and Cicero at this time, uninfluenced by fear of punishment or hope of favour, dares pourtray the character in its true colours. Caesar was an ambitious man ; his ambition pursued those means to effect its objects, which the same passion in other men has always chosen. To enslave his country, he deluded or overpowered the virtuous, and by encouragement and reward made the vicious the ministers, by whose services he executed his designs.

audacemque, cognoverat, hunc in familiaritatem libentissimè recipiebat. His igitur rebus praeclare commendatus, jussus es renunciari consul, et quidem cum ipso : *nihil queror de Dolabellâ, qui tum est impulsus, inductus, elusus. Quâ in re quanta fuerit utriusque vestrûm perfidia in Dolabellam, quis ignorat ? ille induxit, ut peteret : promissum et receptum intervertit, ad seque transtulit : tu ejus perfidiae voluntatem tuam adscripsisti. Veniunt *Kalendae Januariae : cogimur in Senatum : invectus est copiosius multò in istum et paratius Dolabella, quàm nunc ego. *Hic autem iratus quae dixit, dii boni ! cum primùm Caesar ostendisset, se, prius quàm †proficisceretur, Dolabellam consulem esse jussurum ; quem negant regem, qui et faceret semper ejusmodi aliquid, et diceret : sed cum Caesar †ita dixisset, tum hic bonus augur eo se sacerdotio praeditum esse dixit, ut comitia auspiciis †vel impedire vel vitare posset ; idque se facturum esse assevera-

4. *Nihil queror de Dolabellâ*—Caesar promised the Consulship to Dolabella : Antony had already been appointed Consul, and being jealous of Dolabella's rivalling him in Caesar's favour, persuaded Caesar to retain the Consulship himself. Dolabella's honour was injured by this proceeding, and in the Senate, where he dared not speak against Caesar, he pronounced a severe invective against Antony. A quarrel ensued : Caesar was induced to assure Dolabella, that, before he went to the Parthian war, he would resign the consulship to him ; but Antony declared that, by his authority as augur, he would disturb that election, whenever it should be attempted. It is said, that on this occasion Caesar blushed on account of Antony's impudence in the Senate.

5. *Kalendae Januariae*—The time when the Consuls elect enter their office.

6. *Hic*—Antony.

7. *Proficisceretur*—To the Parthian war.

8. *Vel impedire vel vitare*—It was in the power of the augurs to hinder or dissolve any public meeting by observing an inauspicious omen, as when it thundered, or birds were in certain positions, etc. This power was often abused.

vit. In quo primùm incredibilem stupiditatem hominis cognoscite. Quid enim ? ¹isthuc, quod te sacerdotii jure facere posse dixisti, si augur non esses, et consul esses, minùs facere potuisses ? vide ne etiam faciliùs : nos enim nunciationem solùm habemus ; consules et reliqui magistratus etiam spectionem. Esto hoc imperitè, nec enim ab homine nunquam sobrio postulanda prudentia : sed videte impudentiam : multis antè mensibus in Senatu dixit, se Dolabellae comitia aut prohibitorum auspiciis, aut id facturum esse quod fecit : quisquam-ne divinare potest, quid vitii in auspiciis futurum sit, nisi ²decoelo servare constituit ? quod neque licet comitiis ³per leges ; et, si quis servavit, non habitis comitiis, sed priùs quàm habeantur, debet nunciare : verùm implicata inscitia impudentià est, si nec scit quod augùrem, nec facit quod pudentem decet. Atque ex illo die recordamini ejus usque ⁴ad Idus Martias consulatum : quis unquam apparitor tam humilis, tam abjectus ? nihil ipse poterat : omnia rogabat : caput in aversam lecticam inferens, beneficia, quae venderet, a collegâ petebat.

XXXIII. Ecce Dolabellae comitorum dies ⁴sor-

9. *Isthuc, etc.*—A literal translation of this passage is as follows ; *If you had not been augur, and had been Consul, would you have been less able to do that, which you said you could do by your sacerdotal authority ? See that it is not more easy ; for we (the augurs) have only the right of declaring, the Consuls and other magistrates, that of inspection.*

1. *Decoelo servare*—To observe the auspices by viewing the heavens.

2. *Per leges*—The Aelian and Tuscan laws forbid the taking of the auspices, while the people were engaged in business, because they should have been taken before.

3. *Idus Martias*—On the Ides of March Caesar was slain.

4. *Sortitio praerogativae*—The Consuls were chosen by the *Comitia centuriata*. See note 6th page 88th. By this institution of Servius Tullius the common people had little power. After the expulsion of Kings the Romans altered this aristocratical regulation, and decreed, that the centuries should vote according to lot, that that

titio praerogativae ; ⁴quiescit : ⁶renunciatur ; tacet : prima classis vocatur ; renunciatur : deinde, ut adsolet, suffragatum secunda classis vocatur ; quae omnia citius sunt facta, quàm dixi. Confecto negotio, ⁷bonus augur (Laelium dices) ⁸ALIO DIE, inquit. O impudentiam singularem ! quid videras ? quid senseras ? quid audieras ? nec enim te de coelo servasse dixisti, neque hodie dicis : id igitur obvenit vitium, quod tu jam Kalendis Januar. futurum esse praevideras, et tantò antè praedixeras. Ergo, herculè, magnà, ut spero, tuâ potiùs, quàm reipublicae calamitate e mentibus es auspicia : obstrinxisti populum Romanum religione : ⁹augur auguri, consul consuli obnunciavisti. Nolo plura, ne acta Dolabellae videar convellere ; quae necesse est aliquando ad nostrum collegium deferantur. Sed arrogantiam hominis insolentiamque cognoscite : quamdiu tu voles, vitiosus consul Dolabella ; rursus, cum voles, salvis auspiciis creatus : si nihil est, cum augur iis verbis nunciat, quibus tu nunciasti ; confitere te, cum, ALIO DIE dixeris, sobrium non fuisse : sin cal aliqua vis in istis verbis, ea quae sit, ¹augur a col-

century should vote first, upon which the lot fell, and should be called *centuria praerogativa*, and that the other centuries, which had the appellation of *juro vocatae*, should vote according to their proper places.

5. *Quiescit*—Antony.

6. *Renunciatur*—Dolabella.

7. *Bonus augur*—This is an ironical compliment to Antony, whom he says, you would call a Laelius. Laelius was an augur of much celebrity and influence.

8. *ALIO DIE*—When Antony saw that Dolabella was elected, he pretended to see an inauspicious omen, & exclaimed, (alio die) *Adjourn*.

9. *Augur auguri consul consuli*—Antony was augur and Consul ; Caesar was augur and consul.

1. *Augur*—i. e. I, who am augur.

legâ requiro. Sed, ne fortè ex multis rebus gestis M. Antonii rem unam pulcherrimam transiliat oratio, ad ²Lupercalia veniamus.

XXXIV. Non dissimulat, P. C. apparet esse commotum ; sudat, pallet : quidlibet, modò ne nauseet, faciat, quod in porticu Minuciâ fecit : quae potest esse turpitudinis tantae defensio ? cupio audire ; ut videam ubi ³rhetoris tanta merces, ubi campus Leontinus appareat. Sedebat in rostris ⁴collêga tuus, amictus togâ purpureâ, in sellâ aureâ, coronatus : ascendis : accedis ad sellam : (ita eras Lupercus, ut te consulem esse meninisse deberes) diadema ostendis : gemitus toto foro : unde diadema ? non enim abjectum sustulêras, sed attulêras domo meditatum et cogitatum scelus. Tu diadema imponebas cum plangore populi ; ⁵ille cum plausu rejiciebat. Tu ergo unus, scelerate, inventus es, qui, cum auctor regni esses, eum, quem collegam habebas, dominum habere velles, et idem tentares, quid populus Romanus ferre et pati posset. At etiam misericordiam captabas, supplex te ad pedes adjiciebas : quid petens ? ut servires : tibi uni peteres, qui ita a puero vixêras, ut omnia paterere, ut facilè servires ? a nobis populoque Romano mandatum id certè non habebas. Q praeclaram illam eloquentiam tuam, cum ⁷es nu-

2. *Lupercalia*—This festival was on the fifteenth of February.

3. *Rhetoris*.....Sextus Clodius, of whom mention has been made before in this oration.

4. *Collêga tuus*—Caesar.

5. *Lupercus*—One engaged in celebrating the festival of the Lupercalia.

6. *Ille*—Caesar.

7. *Cum es nudus concionatus*—The ceremonies of the Lupercalian festival were ; first, two goats and a dog were killed ; then the foreheads of two young men of distinction were touched with the

dus concionatus ! quid hoc turpius ? quid foedius ? quid suppliciis omnibus dignius ? num expectas, dum te stimulis fodiam ? haec te, si ullam partem habes sensus, lacerat, haec cruentat oratio. Vereor, ne imminuam summorum virorum gloriam ; dicam tamen dolore commotus : quid indignius, quàm vivere eum, qui imposuerit diadema, cum omnes fateantur jure interfectum esse, qui abjecerit ? At etiam adscribi jussit in ¹fastis, ad Lupercalia, C. CAESARI DICTATORI PERPETUO, M. ANTONIUM CONSULEM ²POPULI JUSSU REGNUM DETULISSE, CAESAREM UTINOLUISSE. Jam jam minimè miror, te otium perturbare ; non modò urbem odisse, sed etiam lucem ; cum perditissimis latronibus non solùm ¹de die, sed etiam in diem vivere. Ubi enim tu in pace consistes ? qui locus tibi in legibus et in judiciis esse potest, quae tu, quantum in te fuit, dominatu regio sustulisti ? Ideo-ne ²L. Tarquinius exactus ; ³Sp. Cassius, Sp. Melius, M. Manlius necati, ut multis pòst seculis a M.

bloody knife. Afterwards the skins of the victims were cut into thongs and whips for the young men ; who, armed in this manner, and covered only with a pair of drawers, ran about the city and fields, striking all they met. Antony this year was one of the young men, and, while Caesar was sitting in a golden chair seeing them run, Antony advanced to him, and offered him a diadem and kingly power, which Caesar refused.

8. *Fastis*—Books....annual registers.

9. *Populi jussu*—This is false ; there was no order of the people.

1. *De die....in diem*—*Vivere de die* signifies to live sumptuously and feast every day ; *in diem vivere* is to regard the present only, to be careless of futurity.

2. *L. Tarquinius*—This was the last king of the Romans, and was expelled by Lucius Junius Brutus.

3. *Sp. Cassius....Melius....Manlius*—These men at different times were supposed to be desirous of making themselves kings of Rome, and were put to death.

Antonio, quod fas non est, rex Romae constitueretur?
Sed ad auspicia redeamus.

XXXV. De quibus rebus Idibus Martiis fuit in Senatu Caesar acturus, quaero tum tu quid egisses? Audiebam quidem te paratum venisse, quod me de omentitis auspiciis, quibus tamen parere necesse erat, putares esse dicturum. Sustulit illum diem fortuna populi Romani: num etiam tuum de auspiciis iudicium interitus Caesaris sustulit? Sed incidit in id tempus, quod iis rebus, in quas ingressa erat oratio, praeventendum est. Quae tua ⁴fuga? quae formido praecclaro illo die? quae propter conscientiam scelerum desperatio vitae? cum ex illâ fugâ ⁵beneficio eorum, qui te, si sanus esses, salvum esse voluerunt, clam te domum recepisti? O mea frustrâ semper verissima auguriâ rerum futurarum! dicebam illis in Capitolio ⁶liberatoribus nostris, cum me ad te ire vellet, ut ad defendendam rempublicam te adhortarer: quoad metueres, omnia te promissurum; simul ac timere desiisses, similem te futurum tui. Itaque cum caeteri consulares irent, redirent, in sententiâ mansi: neque te illo die, neque postero vidi: neque ullam societatem optimis civibus cum importunissimo hoste foedere ullo confirmari posse credidi. ⁷Post diem tertium veni in aedem Telluris, et quidem invitus, cum omnes aditus armati ⁸obsiderent; qui tibi ille dies,

4. *Fuga*—When Antony heard of Caesar's death he fled, fearing he also should be killed.

5. *Beneficio eorum*—Brutus and Cassius. Antony would have been slain, had not Brutus advised his friends to spare him.

6. *Liberatoribus nostris*—Brutus and Cassius.

7. *Post diem tertium*—After the death of Caesar.

8. *Obsiderunt*—After the death of Caesar, Lepidus armed the Forum in the night with soldiers.

D. 2

Antoni, fuit? quanquam mihi subito inimicus extitisti, tamen me tui miseret, quod tibi invideris.

XXXVI. Qui tu vir, dii immortales; et quantus fuisses, si illius diei mentem servare potuisses? pacem haberemus, quae erat facta per obsidem ⁹puerum nobilem, [M. Antonii filium,] M. Bambalionis nepotem: quanquam te bonum timor faciebat, non diuturni magister officii; improbum fecit ea, quae dum timor abest, a te non discedit, audacia: etsi tum, cum optimum te putabant, me quidem dissentiente, funeri tyranni, si illud funus fuit, sceleratissime praefuisti: tua illa ¹pulchra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio: tu, tu, inquam, ²illas faces incendiisti, et eas, quibus semiustulatus ille est, et eas quibus incensa L. Bellieni domus deflagavit; tu illos impetus perditorum hominum, et, ex maximâ parte, servorum, quos nos vi manûque repulimus, in nostras domos immisisti. Idem tamen, quasi fuligine abstersâ, reliquis diebus in Capitolio praeclara senatusconsulta fecisti, ne qua post Idus Martias ³immunitatis tabula, neve cuius beneficii ⁴figeretur. Me-

9. *Puerum nobilem*—Antony sent his son to Brutus into the Capitol as an hostage....Bambalio was Antony's father-in-law.

1. *Pulchra laudatio, etc*—Cicero speaks ironically. Antony pronounced a funeral oration over the body of Caesar—*Tua miseratio*—In the course of his eulogy he held up to the sight of the populace the robe of Caesar, rent by the daggers of his assassins, and stained with blood, intending by exciting their pity to inflame their passions against the conspirators—*Tua cohortatio*—Antony exhorted the people to revenge the death of Caesar.

2. *Illas faces incendiisti*—The people, moved by the speech of Antony, took brands of fire from the funeral pile of Caesar, burnt some houses of the Senators, and were with difficulty dispersed by Dolabella, the other Consul.

3. *Immunitatis tabula*—Caesar before his death granted several immunities and furloughs, to his soldiers, which Antony countermanded.

4. *Figeretur*—Laws, decrees, etc. were engraven on brass tables,

ministri ipse de exulibus : scis de immunitate quid dixeris : optimum verò, quòd ⁶dictaturae nomen in perpetuum de republicâ sustulisti : quo quidem facto tantum te cepisse odium regni videbatur, ut ejus omnem, propter proximum dictatorem, tolleres metum : constituta respublica videbatur aliis, mihi verò nullo modo, qui omnia, te gubernante, naufragia metuēbam. Num me igitur fefellit ? aut num diutius sui potuit esse dissimilis ? inspectantibus vobis, toto Capitolio tabulae figebantur : neque solùm singulis veniebant immunitates, sed etiam populis universis : civitas non jam sigillatim, sed provinciis totis dabatur. Itaque si haec manent, quae stante republicâ manere non possunt, provincias universas, P. C. perdidistis ; neque vectigalia solùm, sed etiam imperium populi Romani hujus domesticis nundinis diminutum est.

XXXVII. Ubi est ⁶septies millies sestertium, quod in tabulis, quae sunt ⁷ad Opis, patebat ? funestae illius quidem pecuniae, sed tamen, si iis, quorum erant, non redderentur, quae nos a tributis possent vindicare. Tu autem H. S. quadringenties, quod Idibus Martiis debuisti, quonam modo ante Kalendas Apriles debere desiisti ? [Quid ego de commentariis infinitis, quid de innumerabilibus chirographis loquar ?] Sunt ea quidem innumerabilia, quae a di-

and fixed in the Capitol and other publick places, for the information of the people.

5. *Dictaturae nomen*—Antony obtained a decree, that whoever endeavoured to create a Dictator, or should accept a Dictatorship offered to him, should be put to death.

6. *Septies millies sestertium*—About 5,000,000*l*.

7. *Ad Opis*—The word *aedem* is here understood.

versis emebantur, non insciente te : sed unum egregium ^{de} rege Deiotaro, populo Romano amicissimo, decretum in Capitolio fixum : quo proposito, nemo erat, qui in ipso dolore risum posset continere. Quis enim cuiquam inimicior, quàm Deiotaro Caesar? aequè atque huic ordini, ut equestri, ut ^{Massiliensibus}, ut omnibus, quibus rempublicam populi Romani caram esse sentiebat. Igitur a quo vivo nec praesens, nec absens rex Deiotarus quidquam aequi boni impetravit, apud mortuum factus est gratus. Compellârat hospitem praesens, computârat, pecuniam imperârat, in ejus tetrarchiam unum ex Graecis comitibus suis collocârat : Armeniam abstulerat a Senatu datam ; haec vivus eripuit, reddidit mortuus : at quibus verbis ? modò aequum sibi vidēri, modò non iniquum : mira verborum complexio : at ille nunquam (semper enim absenti affui Deiotaro) quidquam sibi, quod nos pro illo postularem, aequum dixit videri. ¹Syngrapha H. S. centies per legatos viros bonos, sed timidos et imperitos, sine nostrâ, sine reliquorum hospitem regis sententiâ, facta in gynaeceo : quo in loco plurimae res veniērunt et veneunt : quâ ex syngraphâ quid sis acturus, meditare censeo. Rex enim ipse suâ sponte, nullis commentariis Caesaris, simul, atque audivit ejus interitum,

8. *Rege Deiotaro*—See introduction to oration for king Deiotarus. Caesar deprived Deiotarus of a part of his kingdom for adherence to Pompey. At the death of Caesar Antony bargained with the old king for the sum of 80,000*l.* to restore to him what Caesar had taken. But when Deiotarus heard Caesar was dead, he seized his dominions himself.

9. *Massiliensibus*—The inhabitants of Marseilles were allies of the Romans, and espoused the party of Pompey and the Senate, which made Caesar inimical to them.

1. *Syngrapha H. S. centies*—A note in writing for about 78,000*l.*

suo Marte res suas recuperavit ; sciebat homo sapiens jus semper hoc fuisse, ut quae tyranni eripuisent, ea, tyrannis interfectis, ii, quibus erepta essent, recuperarent. Nemo igitur jureconsultus, ne ²iste quidem, qui tibi uni est jureconsultus, per quem haec agis ex istâ syngraphâ deberi dicit pro iis rebus, quae erant ante syngrapham recuperatae : non enim a te emit ; sed priùs, quàm tu suum sibi vendères, ipse possedit. ³Ille vir fuit : nos quidem contemnendi, qui ⁴auctorem odimus, acta defendimus.

XXXVIII. Quid ergo de commentariis infinitis, quid de innumerabilibus chirographis loquar ? quorum etiam ⁵imitatores sunt, qui ea, tanquam ⁶gladiatorum libellos, palàm venditent. Itaque tanti acervi nummorum apud istum construuntur, ut jam appendantur, non numerentur, pecuniae. At quàm caeca avaritia est ! nuper fixa tabula est, qua civitates locupletissimae Cretensium vectigalibus liberantur ; statuiturque, ne ⁷post M. Brutum proconsulem sit Creta provincia. Tu mentis es compos ? tu non constringendus ? an Caesaris decreto Creta post M. Bruti decessum potuit liberari, cum Creta nihil ad Bru-

2- *Iste*—Sextus Clodius, the Rhetorician.

3. *Ille*—Deiotarus.

4. *Auctorem*—Caesar.

5. *Imitatores*—Counterfeiters.

6. *Gladiatorum libellos*—Bills containing the names of the gladiators and the feats to be performed.

7. *Post M. Brutum proconsulem*—Antony had lately published a decree, which he pretended he had found among Caesar's papers, that declared, that after the Proconsulate of M. Brutus, Crete should be freed from taxes. That this decree was not among Caesar's papers is very evident, because while Caesar was living, neither he nor any one else could foresee that Brutus would be Proconsul in Crete, as that event was caused by Caesar's death alone ; and if Caesar had not been assassinated, Brutus would not have gone to Crete in quality of Proconsul.

tum, Caesare vivo, pertineret ? At hujus venditione decreti, ne nihil actum putetis, provinciam Cretam perdidistis. Omnino nemo ullius rei fuit emptor, cui defuerit ¹hic venditor. Et de exulibus legem, quam fixisti, Caesar tulit ? nullius insector calamitatem : tantum queror, primum eorum reditus inquinatos, quorum causam dissimilem Caesar judicaverit ; deinde nescio, cur reliquis idem non tribuas : neque enim plus quam tres aut quatuor reliqui sunt ; qui simili in calamitate sunt, cur tuâ misericordiâ simili non fruuntur ? cur eos habes in loco ²patrui ? de quo ferre, cum de reliquis ferres, noluisti ; quem etiam ad censuram petendam impulisti, eamque petitionem comparâsti, quae et risus hominum et querelas moveret. Cur autem ea comitia non habuisti ? an quia tribunus plebis ³sinistrum fulmen nunciabat ? cum tua quid interest, nulla auspicia sunt ; cum tuorum, tum sis religiosus ? quid ? eundem in ⁴septemviratu non-ne destituiisti ? intervenit enim : quid metuisti ? credo, ne salvo capite negare non posses : omnibus eum contumeliis onerâsti, quem patris loco, si

8. *Hic venditor*—Antony.

9. *Patrui*—This was C. Antonius, the colleague of Cicero in the Consulship. He was condemned to exile for mal-administration in Macedonia. Mark Antony, his nephew, recalled many from exile, but neglected him. However, when he was afterwards restored, his nephew endeavoured to have him elected Censor. The inconsistency of the conduct of Mark Antony on this occasion excited both the ridicule and indignation of the Romans.

1. *Sinistrum fulmen*—Thunder from the left was a happy omen on every occasion except the holding of the *Comitia* : it then was deemed an inauspicious one.

2. *Septemviratu*—The Septemviri, to whom this passage refers, were either the seven commissioners appointed to regulate the feasts in honour of the gods, or the commissioners, appointed after Caesar's death to divide the Leontine and Campanian lands. Antony deserted his uncle on this occasion, and thereby became more inconsistent.

ulla in te pietas esset, colere debebas : filiam ejus, sororem tuam, ejecisti, aliâ conditione quaesita, et antè perspectâ : non est satis ; probri insimulâsti pudicissimam foeminam : quid est, quod addi possit ? contentus eo non fuisti ; frequentissimo Senatu Kalendis Jan. sedente patruo, hanc tibi esse cum Dolabellâ odii causam ausus es dicere, quòd ab eo sorori et uxori tuae ³stuprum oblatum esse comperisses. Quis interpretari potest, impudentior-ne, qui in Senatu ; an improbior, qui in Dolabellam ; an impurior, qui patre audiente ; an crudelior, qui in illam miseram tam spurcè, tam impiè dixeris ?

XXXIX. Sed ad ⁴chirographa redeamus : quae fuit tua cognitio ? acta enim Caesaris pacis causâ confirmata sunt a Senatu : quae quidem Caesar egisset, non ea, quae Caesarem egisse dixisset Antonius. Unde ista erumpunt ? quo auctore proferuntur ? si sunt falsa, cur probantur ? si vera, cur veneunt ? At sic placuerat, ut ex Kalendis Juniis de Caesaris actis cum consilio cognosceretis. Quod fuit consilium ? quem unquam advocâsti ? quas Kalendas Junias expectâsti ? an eas, ad quas te, peragratis veteranorum coloniis, stipatum armis retulisti ? O praeclaram illam percursionem tuam mense Aprili atque Maio, tum, cum etiam Capuam deducere coloniam conatus es ! quemadmodum illinc abieris, vel potius penè non abieris, scimus : cui tu urbi minitaris : utinam co-

3. *Stuprum oblatum esse comperisses*.—This was a tale invented by Antony to afford a pretext for a divorce from his cousin Antonia, and to justify in some degree his marriage with Fulvia, the widow of Clodius.

4. *Ad chirographa*.—Cicero alludes to the forgeries of Antony, papers which the latter pretended were left by Caesar.

nere, ut aliquando illud PENE tollatur. At quam nobilis est tua illa peregrinatio? quid prandiorum apparatus, quid furiosam vinolentiam tuam proferam? tua ista detrimenta sunt, illa nostra. *Agrum Campanum, qui cum de vectigalibus eximebatur, ut militibus daretur, tamen infligi magnum reipublicae vulnus putabamus; hunc tu compransoribus tuis et collusoribus dividebas: minos dico et mimas, P. C. in agro Campano collocatos. Quid jam querar de agro Leontino? quandoquidem hae quondam arationes, Campana et Leontina, in populi Romani patrimonio grandi foenore et fructuosae ferebantur. Medico tria millia iugerum, quasi te sanum fecisset; rhetori duo, quasi disertum facere potuisset. Sed ad iter Italiamque redeamus.

XL. Deduxisti coloniam *Casilinum, quod Caesar antè deduxerat. Consuluisti me per literas de *Capuâ tu quidem, (sed idem de Casilino respondissem) posses-ne, ubi colonia esset, eo coloniam novam jure deducere: negavi in eam coloniam, quae esset auspicatò deducta, dum esset incolumis, coloniam novam jure deduci: colonos novos adscribi posse rescripsi; tu autem, insolentiâ elatus, omni auspicio-

5. *Illud PENE*—In endeavouring to establish a colony at Capua, Antony was almost killed, and Cicero here says, that he wishes that that almost had been away; that is, he wished that Antony had been killed.

6. *Agrum Campanum*—The Campanian lands belonged to the commonwealth; Antony nevertheless divided them among his soldiers, that he might thereby attach them more strongly to himself.

7. *Agro Leontino*—The Leontine lands were in Sicily; Antony bestowed them on the Sextus Clodius before mentioned. These lands were very fertile.

8. *Casilinum*—A town in Campania.

9. *Capuâ*—When Antony attempted to settle his soldiers at Capua, the old inhabitants made so vigorous a resistance, that it was with difficulty he escaped with his life.

rum jure turbato, Casilinum coloniam deduxisti, quo erat paucis annis ante deducta, ut ¹vexillum tolleres, et aratrum circumduceres; cujus quidem vomere portam Capuae penè perstrinxisti, ut florentis coloniae territorium minueretur. Ab hâc perturbatione religionum advolas in ²M. Varronis, sanctissimi atque integerrimi viri, fundum Cassinatem: quo jure? quo ore? eodem, inquires, quo in haeredum L. Rubrii, quo in haerēdum L. Turselii praedia, quo in reliquas innumerabiles possessiones. Et si ab hastâ, valeat hasta, valeant tabulae, modò Caesaris, non tuae: quibus debuisti, non quibus tu te liberavisti. Varronis quidem Cassinatem fundum quis veniisse dicit? quis hastam istius venditionis vidit? quis vocem praeconis audivit? misisse te dicis Alexandriam, qui emeret a Caesare; ipsum enim expectare magnum fuit: quis verò audivit unquam (nullius autem salus curae pluribus fuit) de fortunis Varronis rem ullam esse detractam? Quòd si etiam scripsit ad te Caesar ³ut redderes; quid satis potest dici de tantâ impudentiâ? Remove gladios illos parumper, quos videmus: jam intelliges, aliam causam esse hastae Caesaris, aliam confidentiae et temeritatis tuae: non enim te dominus modò illis sedibus, sed quivis amicus, vicinus, hospes, procurator arcebit.

1. *Vexillum tolleres, aratum circumduceres*—This was the usual way of establishing colonies.

2. *M. Varronis*—Varro was esteemed the most learned man in Rome, and was an intimate friend of Cicero. He was Pompey's Lieutenant in Spain, but after the defeat of Afranius and Petrius he left the army and retired to his studies.

3. *Ut redderes*—Caesar wrote to Antony to restore to Varro his Cassinian estate, which Antony had unjustly obtained.

XLI. At quàm multos dies in eâ villâ turpissimè es perbacchatus? *ab horâ tertiâ bibebatur, ludebatur, vomebatur. O tecta ipsa misera, *quam dispari domino!* quanquàm quomodo iste dominus? sed tamen quàm a dispari tenebantur! studiorum enim suorum M. Varro voluit esse illud, non libidinum diversorium: quae in illâ villâ antea dicebantur? quae cogitabantur? quae literis mandabantur? jura populi Romani, monumenta majorum, omnis sapientiae ratio omnisque doctrinae. At verò, te inquilino, (non enim domino) personabant omnia vocibus ebriorum: natabant pavimenta vino: madebant parietes: ingenui pueri cum meritoriis, scorta inter matresfamilias versabantur. *Cassino salutatum veniebant, Aquino, Interamnâ: admissus est nemo: jure id quidem. In homine enim turpissimo obsolebant dignitatis insignia. Cum inde Romam proficiscens ad Aquinum accederet, obviam ei processit (ut est frequens municipium) magna sanè multitudo; at iste opertâ lecticâ latus est per oppidum, ut mortuus. Stultè Aquinates; sed tamen in viâ habitabant: quid *Anagnini? qui, cum essent devii, [obviam ei] descenderunt, ut istum, tanquam si esset consul, salutarerent: incredibile dictu est; tamen inter omnes constabat, neminem esse resalutatum; praesertim cum duos secum Anagninos haberet, Mustellam et Laconem; quorum alter gladiatorum est princeps, alter

4. *Ab horâ tertiâ*—This hour, according to the Roman mode of computation, it will be recollected, was early in the forenoon.

5. *Cassino, etc.*—Cassinum was a town in Campania—Aquinum, a town near Samnium—Interamna, a town near Aquinum.

6. *Anagnini*—Anagnia was a town in Campania.

poculorum. Quid ego illas istius minas contumeliasque commemorem, quibus invectus est in ⁷Sidicinos? vexavit Puteolanos, quòd C. Cassium, quòd Brutos patronos adoptassent: magno quidem iudicio, studio, benevolentia, caritate; non ut te, ut ⁸Basilum, vi et armis, et alios vestri similes, quos clientes nemo habere velit, non modo esse illorum cliens.

XLII. Interea dum tu abes, qui dies ille ⁹collegae tui fuit, cum illud, quod tu venerari solebas, bustum in foro evertit? quâ re tibi nunciata, ut constabat inter eos, qui unâ fuerunt, concidisti: quid evenit postea, nescio: metum credo valuisse, et arma. Collegam quidem ¹de coelo detraxisti; effecisti quæ non tu quidem etiam nunc, ut sit similis tui, sed certè ut dissimilis esset sui. Qui verè reditus inde Romanus? quæ perturbatio totius urbis? meminèramus ²Cinnam nimis potentem; Syllam postea dominantem, Caesarem regnantem videramus: erant fortasse gladii, sed ii absconditi, nec ita multi; ista verò quæ et quanta barbaria est? ³agmine quadrato cum gladiis sequuntur milites: scutorum lecticas portari videmus. Atque, his quidem jam inveteratis, P. C. consuetudine

7. *Sidicinos....Puteolanos*—Sidicinium, or Teanum, was a colony and city in Campania, towards Cassinum.—Puteoli was a maritime town in Campania.

8. *Basilum*—A man of infamous character.

9. *Collegæ tui*—Dolabella, who overthrew the monument of Caesar.

1. *De coelo detraxisti*—The meaning of the phrase *de coelo detraxisti* is to debase; and in the next lines Cicero accordingly says, that Antony had not indeed made Dolabella, his colleague, quite so bad as himself, but had certainly made him unlike what Dolabella formerly was.

2. *Cinnam....Syllam*—See notes 2d and 3d, page 52d.

3. *Agmine quadrato*—Soldiers followed Antony in battle array.

obduruimus : *Kalendis Juniis, cum in Senatum, ut erat constitutum, venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffugimus : at iste, qui Senatu non egeret, neque desideravit quemquam, et potius discessu nostro laetatus est, statim illa mirabilia facinora effecit : qui chirographa Caesaris defendisset lucris sui causâ, is leges Caesaris, easque praeclaras, ut rempublicam concutere posset, evertit ; numerum annorum provinciis *prorogavit ; idemque, cum actorum Caesaris defensor esse deberet, et in publicis et in privatis rebus acta Caesaris rescidit. In publicis actis nihil est lege gravius ; in privatis firmissimum est testamentum. Leges alias sine promulgatione sustulit ; alias, ut tolleret promulgatas, promulgavit. Testamentum irritum fecit ; quod etiam infimis civibus semper obtentum est : signa, tabulas, quas populo Caesar unâ cum hortis legavit, eas hic partim in *hortos Pompeii deportavit, partim in villam Scipionis.

XLIII. Et tu in Caesaris memoriâ diligens ? Tu illum amas mortuum ? quem is majorem honorem consecutus erat, quàm ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium, flaminem ? est ergo flamen, ut Jovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic 7divo Julio Marcus Antoni-

4. *Kal. Jun.*—At this time Antony returned to the city, as it was the usual period at which the Senate met ; but, so great was his power and so tyrannical were his proceedings, that no Senator dared to take his place.

5. *Prorogavit*—Caesar passed a law, that Praetors should govern their provinces only one year, the Consuls their provinces two years. Antony enabled them to hold the government of the provinces several years.

6. *Hortos Pompeii.....villam Scipionis*—Antony possessed these estates.

7. *Divo Julio*—The Romans and other ancient nations often deified their great men.

us ? quid igitur cessas ? cur non inaugurare ? sume diem : vide, qui te inauguret : *collegae sumus : nemo negabit. O detestabilem hominem, sive quòd tyrannisacerdos es, sive quòd mortui ! Quaero deinceps, num, hodiernus dies qui sit, ignores ? nescis, heri quartum in Circo diem ludorum Romanorum fuisse ? te autem ipsum ad populum tulisse, ut quintus praeterea dies Caesari tribueretur ? *cur non sumus praetextati ? cur honorem Caesari tuâ lege datum deseri patimur ? an supplicationes addendo diem contaminari passus es, pulvinaria noluisti ? aut undique religionem tolle, aut usquequaque conserva. Quaeres ; placeat-ne mihi pulvinar esse, fastigium, flaminem ? mihi verò nihil istorum placet. Sed tu, qui acta Caesaris defendis, quid potes dicere, cur alia defendas, alia non cures ? nisi fortè vis fateri te omnia quaestu tuo non illius dignitate metiri. Quid ad haec tandem ? expecto eloquentiam tuam : disertissimum cognovi avum tuum ; at te etiam apertiozem in dicendo : ille nunquam nudus est concionatus ; tuum hominis simplicis pectus vidimus. Respondebis-ne ad haec ? aut omninò hiscere audebis ? ecquid reperies ex tam longâ oratione meâ, cui respondere posse confidas ? Sed praeterita omittamus.

XLIV. Hunc unum diem, hunc unum, inquam, hodiernum diem, hoc punctum temporis, quo loquor, defende, si potes : cur armatorum coronâ Senatus sep-

8. *Collegae sumus*—Cicero and Antony were colleagues, as both of them were augurs.

9. *Cur non sumus praetextati*—The magistrates of the city during the year of their magistracy wore the *praetexta*, a robe bordered with purple. On festival days all other Senators, who had been magistrates, wore this robe.

tus est? cur me tui satellites cum gladiis audiunt? cur valvae ¹Concordiae non patent? cur homines omnium gentium maxime barbaros, ²Ityraeos, cum sagittis deducis in forum? Praesidii sui causâ se facere dicit. Non-ne igitur millies perire est melius, quam in suâ civitate sine armatorum praesidio non posse vivere? Sed nullum est istuc, mihi crede, praesidium; caritate et benevolentia civium septum oportet esse non armis. Eripiet, extorquebit tibi ista populus Romanus, utinam salvus nobis! sed quoquo modo nobiscum egeris, dum istis consiliis uteris, non potes esse, mihi crede, diuturnus; etenim ista tua minime avara ³conjux, quam ego sine contumelia describo, nimium debet diu populo Romano tertiam pensionem. Habet populus Romanus ad quos gubernacula reipublicae deferat; qui ubicunque terrarum sunt, ibi est omne reipublicae praesidium, vel potius ipsa respublica, quae se adhuc tantummodo alta est, nondum recuperavit: habet quidem certe respublica adol-
escentes nobilissimos, paratos defensores; quam volent, illi cedant, otio consulentes; tamen a republicâ revocabuntur. Et nomen pacis dulce est, et ipsa res salutaris; sed inter pacem et servitutem plurimum interest: pax est tranquilla libertas; servitus malorum omnium postremum, non modo bello, sed morte etiam repellendum. Quod si seipsos illi ⁴nostri lib-

1. *Concordiae*—The temple of Concord.

2. *Ityraeos*—Infamous Jews, devoted to Antony.

3. *Conjux*—Fulvia, Antony's wife, had been married twice before. Clodius, her first husband, was killed by Milo; Curio, her next husband, was slain by Juba, king of Mauritania; and Cicero says, she has long owed the Roman people her third debt, insinuating that before that time, Antony, her third husband, should have been killed.

4. *Nostri liberatores*—Brutus and Cassius.

cratores e conspectu nostro abstulerunt ; at exemplum facti reliquerunt ; illi, quod nemo fecerat, fecerunt. Tarquinium Brutus bello est persecutus, qui tamen rex fuit, cum esse Romae regem licebat. Sp. Cassius, Sp. Melius, M. Manlius propter suspicionem regni appetendi sunt necati : ^{hi} primi cum gladiis, non in regnum appetentem, sed in regnantem impetum fecerunt ; quod cum ipsum factum per se praeclarum atque divinum est, tum expositum ad imitandum ; praesertim cum illi eam gloriam consecuti sint, quae vix coelo capi posse videatur. Etsi enim satis in ipsâ conscientiâ pulcherrimi facti fructus erat, tamen mortali immortalitatem non arbitror contemnendam.

XLV. Recordare igitur illum, M. Antoni, diem, quo dictaturam sustulisti : pone ante oculos laetitiam Senatûs populiue Romani : confer cum hac nummatione tuâ tuorumque ; tum intelliges, quantum inter laudem et lucrum intersit : sed nimirum, ut quidam morbo aliquo et sensûs stupore suavitatem cibi non sentiunt ; sic libidinosi, avari, facinorosi verae laudis gustum non habent. Sed, si te laus allicere ad rectè faciendum non potest, ne metus quidem a foedissimis factis potest avocare ? Judicia non metuis, si propter innocentiam, laudo ; si propter vim, non intelligis, ei, qui isto modo judicia non timeat, quid timendum sit ? Quòd si non metuis viros fortes, egregiosque cives, quòd a corpore tuo prohibentur armis ; tui te, mihi crede, diutius non ferent. Quae est autem vita, dies et noctes timere a suis ? nisi verò ma-

5. *Hi*—Brutus and Cassius.

ioribus habes beneficiis obligatos, quàm ille quosdam habuit ex iis, a quibus est interfectus. An tu es ullâ re cum eo comparandus? ⁶ fuit in illo ingenium, ratio, memoria, literae, cura, cogitatio, diligentia : res bello gesserat, quamvis reipublicae calamitosas, attamen magnas : multos annos regnare meditatus, magno labore, magnis periculis, quod cogitârat, effecerat : muneribus, monumentis, congiariis, epulis, multitudinem imperitam delenierat : ⁷ suos praemiis, adversarios clementiae specie devinxerat. Quid multa? attulerat jam liberae civitati, partim metu, partim patientiâ, consuetudinem serviendi.

XLVI. Cum illo ego te dominandi cupiditate conferre possum ; caeteris verò rebus nullo modo es comparandus. Sed ex plurimis malis, quae ab illo reipublicae sunt inusta, hoc tamen boni est, quòd didicit jam populus Romanus, quantum cuique crederet, quibus se committeret, a quibus cavèret. Haec igitur non cogitas? nec intelligis, satis esse viris fortibus didicisse, quàm sit re pulchrum, beneficio gratum, famâ gloriosum, tyrannum occidere? an, cum illum homines non tulerint, te ferent? certatim posthàc, mihi crede, ad hoc opus curretur, nec occasionis tarditas expectabitur. Respice, quaeso, aliquando rempublicam, M. Antoni : quibus ortus sis, non quibuscum vivas, considera : mecum, ut voles, cum republicâ redi in gratiam. Sed de te tu ipse videris ;

6. *Fuit in illo ingenium, etc.*—Cicero here acknowledges the abilities of Caesar, which unquestionably were very great, but at the same time were so viciously employed, that they ruined his country.

7. *Suos praemiis*—Caesar had the generosity of an artful politician ; he was liberal, when liberality would promote the execution of his ambitious designs.

ego de me ipso profitebor : defendi rempublicam
 adolescens, non deseram senex : contempsi Catilinae
 gladios, non pertimescam tuos : quin etiam corpus li-
 bentèr obtulerim, si repraesentari morte meâ libertas
 civitatis potest ; ut aliquando dolor populi Romani
 pariat, quod jamdiù parturit. Etenim si abhinc an-
 nos propè viginti hoc ipso in templo negavi, posse
 mortem immaturam esse consulari, quanto veriùs
 nunc negabo seni ? Mihi verò, P. C. jam etiam op-
 tanda mors est, perfuncto rebus iis, quas adeptus sum,
 quasque gessi : duo modo haec opto ; unum, ut mo-
 riens populum Romanum liberum relinquam ; hoc
 mihi majus a diis immortalibus dari nihil potest : al-
 terum, ut ita cuique eveniat, ut de republicâ quisque
 mereatur. *

8. Cicero published fourteen orations against Antony ; but of all of them the second Philippick was most severe. This oration was perhaps the immediate cause of the assassination of Cicero. The sarcastical wit and pungent satire it contains so highly exasperated Antony, that he determined to embrace the first opportunity of silencing forever that tongue, whose invectives he so much feared. His desire of revenge did not long remain ungratified. The Roman orator, whom a large portion of mankind have so much admired, in a short time after the publication of this Philippick became one of the first victims of that bloody vengeance, which characterised the coalition of Octavius, Antony and Lepidus.

FINIS.

the 1st of July 1881

I ask
to send me report
for the 1st of July 1881
only proposed

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Miss Mary
Perkins

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